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TEN FAMOUS AMERICAN EDUCATORS

By

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PREFACE

The System of Public Education in the United States is the bulwark of our Democracy. This system or program may be found in the most complex and most densely populated sections, as well as the most remote and scattered parts of the Nation. To tell the story of the development of this education is to tell the stories of the lives and accomplishments of just a few people. The purpose of this book is to tell this story. Anyone who would choose the ten most illustrious American educators of the past, would have in the list many of the ten chosen for this book.

Teachers and school administrators of the United States know very little of the beginnings of our present educational program. The life work of each of these reformers adds a chapter to our educational progress. The philosophy of the citizens is naturally dependent on their early training. No influence as far as conduct is concerned is greater than that of school text-books. The authors of books have been given a definite place in this list of ten educators.

Standards and ideals are necessary to the promotion of good citizenship, so we bring into the group the Psychologist, The College President, The State Superintendent of Schools, The City Superintendent of Schools, and The United States Commissioner of Education.

Original sources of facts are given as references in most of the citations. Great care has been taken in presenting the truth.

The book should appeal especially to teachers and to older men and women in all walks of life who have been influenced by the text-books, personal contacts, and the educational traditions of these great leaders.

The beautiful domestic lives of these educators are good character studies for high school students. We hope the students may walk with them and talk with them as they read this book.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The data necessary for the preparation of this volume were gathered from many original sources. Several of the chapters retain the style of writing of the chief contributor. This should add much to the value of the book. The chief contributors are:

C. B. Galbreath, Secretary, Ohio Archæological and Historical Society for Ohio—The McGuffeys and their readers.

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Dr. Hupp, Mr. Foster and Mr. Wagner gave much additional time and effort to a critical reading of much of the book.

JOHN L. CLIFTON.

Columbus, Ohio, February, 1933.

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HORACE MANN

1796-1859

Horace Mann was born May 4, 1796 near the town of Franklin, Massachusetts. His birthplace had been the home of his father and his grandfather. His father, Thomas Mann, had married a teacher, Rebecca Stanley some ten years before the birth of Horace Mann. The parents were among the best citizens, intelligent and moral. The family life during the childhood of the son was simple, and devoted to the best welfare of the children of the home. Horace was the fourth child, having two older brothers and an older sister. The few books that came into the home were prized beyond any other possession. From early childhood Horace showed unusual talent and desire for education. In writing about his school life he says:

“Until the age of fifteen, I had never been in school more than eight or ten weeks in a year.”

This simple country life had its advantages. The town of Franklin was near enough to Boston and Providence that it was influenced by the leaders of this section. John Quincy Adams was born and lived less than twenty miles from Franklin. Horace Mann was destined to succeed this great and honorable leader as a member of Congress. The church and the school were the two chief factors of the social life of the community. The church was a powerful influence in the development of education of the youth of the community. Dr. Nathanael Emmons was the minister. He was one of the leading ministers of the Calvinist faith in all New England. His preaching over a period of fifty years dominated the belief and conduct of the people of Franklin. Horace Mann never accepted the doctrine of Dr. Emmons and showed in his writing and in his acts that he had other con-

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victions. Horace Mann believed that every child had a right to a happy childhood. When his older brother, Stephen, died Dr. Emmons in his funeral sermon suggested that Stephen may even then be suffering eternal torment. Horace Mann never after that day had faith in Dr. Emmons and until his death felt that the minister had done him a great wrong. It is but natural that Horace would find satisfaction in developing moral ideals and a faith in service to other people. Benjamin Franklin was at this time at the height of his fame. He wanted to do something for the people of the village which was named for him. To that end the village of Franklin received from him many books for a village library. These books were sources of much of Horace Mann's education. The public school furnished a foundation of the education of the young man, but the teachers were not of the best and the school term was short. Mann in writing and talking of his school experiences often remarked that the teachers were more interested in facts of the books than in life and living. The children of these days were required to spend long hours in hard work. Braiding straw was one of the chief occupations of the village. Children could do this work much better than the older folks. In one of Mann's discussions of his boyhood days he writes :

"I believe in the rugged nursing of toil ; but she nursed me too much."

This resentment against the requirements of the times is evident in his attitude toward all opposed to him during his entire adult life. The death of Horace's father, when the son was still a youth added much to the privation and suffering in the home. The mother met these added responsibilities with the usual courage of the New England mother. She trained her children in the dignity of common labor, and the value of truth and duty. It is well that Horace Mann had the advantages of such a home and

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such influences, for in all his life he reflected the teachings and experiences of his childhood. Horace Mann had the advantage of one excellent teacher. His name was Samuel Barrett. This teacher was a genius, well trained in the classics and language. Mann was inspired by his teaching and soon prepared himself to continue his education in college.

AT BROWN UNIVERSITY

The public schools, at this time, were under the definite influence of the ministry. This was true throughout all New England. When Horace Mann entered Brown University he was happy to find a freedom of thought that he had never before experienced. The religious freedom of Roger Williams' time was still a part of educational opportunity at Brown. The student body did not extend to the richer boys of New England. Harvard and Yale Universities were better equipped and offered greater opportunities. Brown University drew students from the farmers, small wage earners, and other modest homes. The quality of the students was equal to that of the other colleges, while the opportunity to study could not have been better. Dr. Asa Messer was President of Brown University at this time. He had come to the presidency in 1802 and had built up a strong program of study, and had put into effect an economic practice among the faculty and student body. Horace Mann was ready to respond to this kind of environment and soon was working to his capacity. He devoted himself to study to the exclusion of everything else. This fact alone explains much of his poor health through these years. During vacations he taught public schools to earn money for his college expenses. All the while the question of his life work was before the young man. The ministry was the most definite and most respected work of that time but young Mann was not sure what he believed or what he wanted to believe. He knew that men were needed in the affairs of government and he rec-

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ognized the value of intelligent leadership. The law also seemed to be a field where he could be happy and at the same time of service. Some weeks before the close of his college course Mann made his decision and arranged to enter the law offices of Hon. J. J. Fiske of Wrentham. Soon after commencement he started his program of studies. Just at this time Dr. Messer came to Mann, offering him a teaching position at Brown University. After much consideration he finally accepted the offer and soon found himself back at the University. His teaching experience was successful as far as others were concerned and was satisfactory to himself. He found that modern science had more of interest to him than did the languages. Although Mann's teaching was successful, he still felt the call to law. He learned through friends that the Law School of Judge Gould at Litchfield, Connecticut, offered great opportunity. He could not put the temptation behind him, so in 1822 Mann enrolled as a student of law in this school.

MANN, THE LAWYER

The law school had but one purpose, that of law. There was little need of money among the students as they had no opportunity for social life. The tuition was \$100.00 for the first year and \$60.00 for the second year. The enrollment was small, numbering about 50 students during the year, twenty in summer and thirty in winter. This law school closed ten years after this, but its students were later among the leaders of our Nation. When Horace Mann was able to establish himself as a leader among such students he proved his worth and ability to lead wherever duty might call. His success as a student of law developed certain practices which he used in all his work ever after. He never depended on memory but wrote out in full detail every case he studied in just the way he planned to do in practice. Mann's willingness to help anyone who needed help, and the fact that he

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was free from jealousy, reduced his enemies to a very small number.

After he had studied in this school for a little longer than a year he became connected with the law office of James Richardson of Dedham, Massachusetts. He found in this office every opportunity for self-improvement. Mr. Richardson was a modest man of culture. The Judge's strength of character and his religious devotion were a tonic that cured many a doubt in the young lawyer's thinking. Mann was admitted to the bar in December, 1823. He wished to establish himself near Boston, so he opened his office in Dedham.

It was at this time that one of the great principles of Mann's life was established. He decided that he would never take a case until he was convinced that his client was right and the cause he represented just. Many years later in an address at Antioch College (Baccalaureate Address 1857) he expressed himself in part as follows:

"If ever the scales of custom and habit fall from the eyes of the community, they will see that the unscrupulous and ever-ready defender of malefactors is himself the greatest malefactor in society. His evil spirit is omnipresent, promising to screen the offender; and when the old forms of indictment charged the culprit with 'being moved and instigated by the wiles of the devil,' the literal meaning of that phraseology was that he was thinking of some lawyer who would save his neck. The evil spirit of such a lawyer is present whenever confederates league together, shaping their plans to commit the offense, yet escape conviction. He muffles the step of the burglar on his midnight errand of plunder; he whets the knife of the assassin, he puts a lighted torch into the hands of the incendiary."

It is a matter of record that Horace Mann won a great majority of his cases before judge or jury. His greatest service as a lawyer, however, was the fact that he would never bring a case

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before the court that he could settle in a peaceful manner with the contenders. Very soon after Mann made his home in Dedham, a temperance movement was started in the town. Mann was chosen president. From this time until his death he took an active part in all movements for social uplift.

So far Mann had traveled alone, struggling to earn enough money to pay his way. By 1830 he had his debts paid, and had built up a good law practice. Marriage was a sacred adventure to Horace Mann. He had known the woman of his choice from the time of her girlhood. Charlotte Messer, the daughter of President Messer of Brown University, was Mann's choice and ideal of womanhood. Their marriage and the home they established at Dedham was of lasting advantage to the village. This home was soon the social center of the town. Horace Mann's happiness was radiated in everything he did. Two years passed quickly to him and then the greatest tragedy of his life came upon him. Mrs. Mann died July 31, 1832. The next five years of Mann's life seemed uneventful. His struggle to maintain his faith in God was typical of his other experiences. His friends were good to him. All of them urged that he take up his work at some other location. His friend, Mr. Loring, wrote in part as follows:

"Your happiness depends upon your intellectual and moral growth. Is not then the city the place for you? Limited excellence abides by the law of nature with a limited expanse of action. In a country bar there can be but one of Plutarch's men and he must encounter and suffer and be subjected to the envy, the ignorance, the selfishness, the littleness, moral and professional, the nameless petty treasons against all nobility of nature which belong to the kennels of the earth. In the city, a hero is among heroes."

This letter settled the matter and Mann formed a partnership with Mr. Loring in Boston. Mr. Loring was high-minded, moral,

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and religious by nature, and a fine friend and companion. Such men when working together were bound to be influential. As time passed the law practice came to be a financial success. The law firm was recognized as one of the best in Boston.

MANN, THE LEGISLATOR

In 1827, while living at Dedham, Horace Mann had been elected to the Legislature of Massachusetts. He was always interested in this service and always held that his duty was to all the people of the state rather than to those of his district. He believed in making the weaker and poorer people as happy as possible. To that end Mann is always found promoting legislation that would restrict those in power and help and protect the weak.

Mann was well read in religious history and practice. It is natural that his first interest as a legislator would be to promote religious freedom. He, more than any other person, solved this problem for his state, and by so doing, for all New England. The second problem for Mann in the legislature was that of the railroads. Just at this time the railroad was in its infancy. Cities opposed the coming of the railroad; the villages required that the railroad be built away from the villages; and the farmers fought against giving a right of way. The only hope for the railroad was legislation. Horace Mann understood in his time what all people know at this time, that the railroad is the one great civilizing agency. His clear presentation of the facts won his second victory and the railroads were built. While the legislature was in session Mann gave his entire time to this work. He found much fault with legislators who would vote without studying the bills presented. He was a vigorous opponent of all gambling projects. Lotteries caused great losses among the people. Other immoral practices needed legislative restriction. The question of handling the problem of intoxicating liquor was ever present. Mann was against everything that he felt would be injurious to the people,

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so he fought for laws that would regulate all immoral practices. No one ever accused him of doing the things that he tried to prohibit in others. His life was always lived according to the highest moral standards.

No state government at this time had assumed the responsibility for the care of its insane people. The practices and beliefs were that the family and friends of the insane person should take this responsibility and furnish the proper care and protection needed. The jails and poorhouses of the state held hundreds of such unfortunate people. Everyone knew of the ill treatment of these unfortunates but no one was willing to bring forth a solution. Horace Mann studied this situation very carefully. When his facts and his statistics were complete, he brought the matter before the legislature. The opposition to his program was the most powerful that he had ever experienced. The fact that a large amount of money would be needed was the chief argument of his opponents. Mann finally won his fight and the first insane asylum in the United States was built at Worcester. The appropriation for the building was \$30,000. Mann was made chairman of the Commission and was responsible for most of its acts. The building was finished at less than the appropriation. Dr. Woodward, a man recognized as an authority in mental diseases, was chosen superintendent. The entire program of building and administration was carried on in such a manner that no effective criticism was offered to the project. Mann's attitude and interest in this project may be better understood from one of his letters telling of the management of the hospital. Dr. Woodward had been offered a position as superintendent of the hospital at Utica, New York. The letter in part reads as follows:

"Dr. Woodward's salary has been raised \$600.00; which will be the means, I think, of securing his valuable services for some time longer. The Legislature has appropriated ten thousand dollars (I write the words instead of the figures,

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lest you should think I have been mistaken in the matter of a cipher) to finish the buildings so that when done, they will accommodate say, two hundred and thirty; seven thousand dollars for the purchase of land, so that our inmates can enjoy the advantages of agricultural employment which we regard very highly and three thousand dollars for a chapel, where the oil of religion may be poured in a flood over the ocean of insanity; and eight thousand dollars to meet the current expenses of the institution. All this was done without a single audible murmur of opposition; nay, with the greatest apparent cordiality toward the hospital."

Mann enjoyed reading the case studies of the hospital where case after case was reported in which the patient was cured or greatly helped.

Mann's next problem was to champion the temperance cause. Mann wrote in one of his letters:

"There are thousands and tens of thousands of inebriates who never would have been so had the tavern and the dram shop been five miles off from their homes."

Strange as it may seem Mann was re-elected for term after term. He was finally sent to the State Senate. His election to the Senate was in 1835. He was immediately elected President of this body which indicated his standing among his co-workers. Social reform seemed to sweep the entire country at this time. Horace Mann realized that the opportunity to be of great service was at hand. With all the experience he had passed through he was qualified to begin his great work for his state and nation.

Under Mann's leadership the Legislature set up a program for public education. The first step was to establish a State Board of Education appointed by the Governor. As president of the Senate Mann signed the bill. Governor Everett, much to the surprise of everyone, appointed Mann as secretary. Mann at the time was not considered an educator, which caused some criticism

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from well meaning and interested people. However many of the leading citizens supported the appointment and urged Mr. Mann to accept it. Others argued that there was greater honor in being the President of the Senate than Secretary of the State Board of Education. He resigned from the legislature, withdrew from the practice of law, and unhampered took up his new duties.

THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF MASSACHUSETTS

Unless things happen rapidly, people as a whole gradually lose interest in any program. Mann soon found that his road was going to be hard traveling. The Legislature provided very little money for his work. There was no program of education on which to build. Many of the people felt that education was the responsibility of the family and should be paid for by the individual. The people generally were satisfied with their program of education for the reason that they had never known any other. As Mann traveled about the state holding meetings, he was met everywhere by an indifference he could not fathom or understand. The teachers were afraid of his program, for he proposed additional training, higher standards, and normal schools. The people saw additional expense but were not able to see the advantages. Mann organized county institutes for teachers. He used as instructors, the best teachers of Massachusetts and other states. The common branches were taught to the teachers along with methods of teaching. These meetings were the beginnings. Every district was required to report the financial condition of its schools and all other facts. Mann tabulated these facts and soon was able to make a report. He realized that he would be unable to reach and hold the educational leaders of the state unless he presented to them a tangible program. He brought forth as a private venture what he called "The Common School Journal." This was his official communication to the teachers and friends of education. The subscription price was \$1.00 a year. The

paper contained sixteen pages and was published twice each month. As long as Mann served as secretary his chief help was his paper which he published over a period of ten years. Many of the articles appearing in this Journal are even today still considered to be progressive. The most apparent need soon was made clear. The state was in need of better trained teachers. County institutes were established and the union of one or more schools was brought about in many sections of the state. Such activity was disturbing to many people who saw the cost of education rapidly increasing. The State Board decided to establish normal schools, the first of which was located at Lexington. Cyrus Pierce of Nantucket was chosen for this great work. He was one of the few master teachers of his time. Mr. Pierce was able to do in practice what Mann had promoted in theory. The normal school was successful from its very beginning. Mr. Pierce believed that whatever anyone attempted to do should be done well.

Time changes very little of the true qualities of a teacher. Mr. Pierce understood and practiced in his teaching methods and procedures what are commonly found in our best schools today. The normal school at Lexington was for women, while the one at Barre was for both men and women. Mr. Pierce was in charge at Lexington and on the opening day his students numbered three. When we consider the great number of normal training schools, teachers' colleges, and colleges of education in the United States in these later years we come to understand the value of this beginning of teacher training. It appears that the reaction against Mann's labor slowly grew for two years and that by 1839 all the opponents of his program joined in a determined effort to discontinue every activity he had started and return to ways of the past years. We find the inefficient teacher, the taxpayer, the book publisher, and all others whose interests were crossed ready to destroy this entire program of education. Mann recorded in his Journal that 1839 was the most difficult year of his life. It is

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hard for anyone to understand why this great leader would suffer as he did in these years and not try to profit financially by his work. In all the records and other manuscripts left by Mann and his family there is no evidence that he worked or planned for personal financial gain. No one desires to know or read about a man who does not make mistakes. Horace Mann made many mistakes of the head but never of the heart. When his life story is finished we have but little to say in criticism. All people like men to be human, honest, industrious, and modest. If they possess these qualities, most weaknesses will be forgotten. After the passing of his greatest opposition in 1839 Mann started to develop his chief interest in his program of education. He had long felt the need of moral training in the schools and he felt that the time had come to develop this program.

Horace Mann lived for several years as a boarder in the home of a Mrs. Clarke. Here he met Miss Mary Peabody whom he afterwards married. Mann in this way became the brother-in-law to Nathaniel Hawthorne. Mann's wife was religious and urged her husband to accept her faith for his own salvation and the best welfare of the children of Massachusetts. After his marriage, Mann, with his wife, visited Europe and saw at first hand the schools of many of the European countries. On his return to America he located at West Newton where he built a home and so realized a long-felt desire. He could now have flowers and trees and vines. He cared for his home and garden as a relaxation from his work. At last he had found peace and contentment.

To Mann the schools of Europe had seemed to be very much better than those of America and his home state. It is evident that he had seen only the best in these European schools and now Mann began to make statements concerning these schools that angered many of his friends and followers. The Boston schools had not benefited by Mann's reforms in the state. These

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schools were considered the best in the country and continued from year to year without much change. The Boston schools had grown to be conservative on account of the fact that they had not accepted the educational reforms of the times. Mann's Seventh Annual Report came from the press early in the year. The Boston Schoolmasters were ready for the fight. They had ignored Mann as long as they could. Thirty-one Schoolmasters joined in a reply, "Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of Horace Mann." This was a new experience for Mann. The Schoolmasters left no stone unturned. They made a critical attack on Mann personally, then on the State Board of Education on the program of education. They criticized Mann's writings, his use of English, and his extravagant statements. The attack was well balanced, carefully prepared, and showed an intelligent preparation. The attack called attention to the virtue of the teachings of the past generations in New England, the great colleges and public schools of our nation, and the fact that practically all the great Americans had been products of these schools.

Mann naturally wished to reply to this attack and did so immediately. His reply was hasty, poorly prepared, and entirely unworthy of him. He was angry, sick, and unable to meet the situation. The Schoolmasters had him whipped and they rejoiced in his suffering. The Schoolmasters came back with their "Rejoinder" which did not show the merit of their first attack. Horace Mann had many illustrious friends who came to his aid at this time. Nathaniel Hawthorne, John G. Whittier, Edward Everett, and many others gave him counsel and advice. This was all Mann needed. His "Answer" had everything in it that was needed to sweep the Schoolmasters out of the sight of the public eyes. This one achievement is said to have placed the schools of Massachusetts many years ahead of other states and made Horace Mann the educational leader of the United States. Boston benefited by this controversy and soon many of the Boston School-

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masters were discharged. Boston accepted the educational leadership of Horace Mann and all was well.

To fully appreciate the influence of Mann during these years it would be necessary to read Mann's Common School Journal. From year to year the educational reforms continued. Nothing seems to have been omitted. The value and necessity of a library for every school was emphasized so many times that libraries came to be a part of every school equipment. Trained teachers replaced the incompetent ones. School attendance increased by leaps and bounds. School buildings worthy of the name were built. School officers were chosen who served education best. School reports were required that told the truth concerning the schools. The best people of the state were now ready and willing to send their children to the public schools. Horace Mann's name and fame were known in every state of the nation and other countries accepted him as a great educational leader. From 1840 to 1850 the reforms of Horace Mann were extended to the most remote parts of the civilized world.

In addition to the ten years of the Common School Journal, Mann wrote twelve annual reports to the State Board of Education which were submitted to the Governor of the State. These reports are today the prized possessions of education and are the foundations on which our present school system is built. Mann's greatest educational work was done. He wished to make refinements in his program and to that end he began the preparation of text-books for use in the schools. He wished to present his principles of education in these books. His arithmetics were accepted and used in the schools over a period of many years. Pliny Chase of Philadelphia did much of the work in the preparation of these books.

The last battle the State Board of Education had to fight for its existence was with Rev. Matthew Smith. Rev. Smith was bitter in his efforts to destroy Mann and his influence. Rev. Smith was

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a Calvinist and had sincere convictions that Mann's educational reforms were all wrong and if he were not checked at once the whole moral fabric of New England would break down and be destroyed. The specific charges brought by Rev. Smith were: first, that the Bible was being displaced in the public school. Mann's answer was that the Bible must be read but without comment. Second, that Horace Mann opposed the use of the rod in the public schools. This charge was unfortunate for Rev. Smith, as Mann showed the brutality of the rod and then acknowledged its use in very exceptional cases. Third, the choice of books in libraries, allowed uncensored books to find their way into libraries. Mann's answer to this criticism showed how few books pass the censorship of a narrow and bigoted critic. This controversy was carried on before the public and again Mann was supported by the leading citizens of his state and the nation. Their letters written to him, many of which were made public, brought him much pleasure. Mann seemed to enjoy public appreciation. His work as Secretary closed in 1848. The Legislature asked him to render a bill for money paid from his own funds. He refused to make such a statement. The Legislature voted him \$2,000. The time had come for a change in his work and Mann was ready to meet his new challenge.

HORACE MANN IN CONGRESS

John Quincy Adams had been President of the United States for four years, 1825 to 1829. Before that time he had served as a representative of the United States in several foreign countries and had served as Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Monroe. When Andrew Jackson defeated him for President in 1828 Adams returned to Boston. He had served for some time as United States Senator from Massachusetts, but all these honors and offices did not embarrass him when he was

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elected as a member of Congress from the 8th Massachusetts District in 1831. He served his District and State continuously until 1848. Adams died at his post in Washington. Horace Mann was chosen to fill the vacancy. Massachusetts was anti-slavery. John Quincy Adams had been their champion. For seventeen years he had stood by his desk in the lower house of Congress and fought for the right of the people to petition Congress on account of their grievances. The desk of John Quincy Adams was always piled high with petitions. Horace Mann was willing to take up this battle where Adams left off. His battle was to be against slavery. Why would any one give up such a work as Mann was doing as Secretary to the State Board of Education for a political position? Horace Mann answered this question in a letter to one of his friends; he wrote in part as follows:

“ . . . All of human history that I ever knew respecting the contest for political and religious freedom, and my own twelve years' struggle to imbue the public mind with an understanding not merely of the law, but the spirit of religious liberty, had so magnified my horror of all forms of slavery that even the importance of education itself seemed for the moment to be eclipsed.”

To fill the position left vacant by Adams would require all the time of any man. The feeling between the North and South was getting worse and worse with the passing months. Horace Mann tried to do his duty in Washington and at the same time carry on as acting Secretary for the State Board of Education. His friends in Boston urged him to get into the fight at Washington and give up his interest in education. Daniel Webster, Senator from Massachusetts, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun were the commanding figures in the United States Senate at this time. Webster for many years had desired to be elected President of the United States. His friends counseled him to be careful and not

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to be too severe on the South in the matter of slavery. Webster represented a strong anti-slavery state but he felt his people understood him and would support him under almost any conditions. In his famous March 7th speech he made the mistake of his political life and brought the wrath of his people down upon him with tremendous force. Webster likely never knew the extent of the bitterness of his former friends and supporters. John Greenleaf Whittier responded in his criticism by writing "Ichabod," a poem of a master mind. Horace Mann knew how all New England felt toward Webster and prepared with great care his attack on Webster. Webster responded with a fierceness seldom seen in political life, and ever after was the bitter enemy of Mann.

It is possible that Daniel Webster would have been defeated for re-election, but just at this time President Taylor died and Vice President Fillmore became President. Fillmore appointed Webster as his Secretary of State. Webster had not forgotten Horace Mann and when the time came, the Whigs of Boston refused Mann a re-nomination. Mann met the situation with courage and came before the people as an independent candidate. He was elected by a large majority. Mann's political troubles were not over. The feeling between factions in the North was as intense as the feeling between the North and South. Mann reserved the right to act and vote as he saw fit. Wendell Phillips was a fiery abolitionist and severely criticised Mann for his middle of the road stand on slavery. Phillips supported Garrison and the Liberator, demanding immediate abolition of slavery in all the states and territory of the union. The controversy between Mann and Phillips was long and distasteful. Neither would acknowledge any wrong or false judgment. Phillips accused Mann of an unprofessional practice while he was Secretary of the State Board of Education. Mann kept silent for a time and then turned upon Phillips with a bitterness seldom if ever before

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expressed by Mann. Today we see but little difference between the beliefs and convictions of the two men. After months of debate through the press the controversy died out. Other matters came crowding in upon them. The Free-Soil movement was getting under way and that party nominated Horace Mann for Governor of Massachusetts. Mann had no chance to be elected and knew it. When he had his future under consideration and before he had decided what to do, he was offered the Presidency of Antioch College in Ohio. This was the hardest decision of Mann's educational career. He knew that there were other opportunities waiting for him in New England, yet this new country had its challenge. Finally Mann made his decision and breaking all his business connections in the East, on September 19, 1853, Mann started for Antioch at Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT ANTIOCH COLLEGE

Antioch College is located in the village of Yellow Springs, Ohio. The location is south of Springfield and east of Dayton. With rolling ground and rich soil the college had many advantages. The college was located in a typical rural section of Ohio. It was truly a problem for a pioneer in education and an idealist to even imagine that such an undertaking could possibly be successful. Horace Mann as President of Antioch College built his program around two definite convictions. First, the college must be non-sectarian and second, it must be co-educational. His plans and the program of studies followed closely his training at Brown University and his experiences as a lawyer and educator. He brought science into his course of study, and emphasized both art and music. Mann did not forget teacher training which had always been a part of his educational program in Massachusetts. He saw the necessity of having definite regulations for the college. It was his personal responsibility to look after the moral

standards of the student body. The use of intoxicating beverages and tobacco were prohibited as far as its faculty and student body were concerned.

When an entire community comes under the direction and dictation of one leader, there will likely be opposition from some group or organization of people. Antioch College was soon to experience this difficulty. The majority of the citizens about Yellow Springs believed in the teaching of John Calvin. They were much disturbed by the fact that their President openly expressed opposition to the teaching of the Calvinists, and showed a definite leaning toward a group that designated themselves Christians. Religious controversies were the chief problems of most communities in the state and nation at this time, and Antioch was not an exception.

The committee in charge of building planned and carried out a building program far beyond what was necessary. They had faith that the money would come in when needed. When Mann came to Antioch he was to have charge of all activities of the college excepting raising the money. It was several months before he knew the financial situation as far as the college was concerned. The problem of money soon came to be the chief difficulty of the administration and until his death, Mann struggled with this problem which brought him much trouble and suffering.

In every other way the college was successful. Its influence for the better citizenship for the state and nation was definite from its beginning until the present time. The student body numbering some one hundred fifty people was gathered from all walks of life. Very few of the students were ready for college study. In the face of such academic problems the standards for study and classification were carried on as planned, always on a high level. Petty religious differences were always present among the faculty, making the work of the President almost more than he could

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carry. In spite of all these difficulties Mann's leadership was never in doubt and his success as a college president was as great as it was in any other of his many accomplishments in Massachusetts.

The right of women to be in college and to sit in classes with men was doubted by most educational leaders of the time. Mann was convinced that co-education was bound to succeed. His battle and victory in behalf of equal rights in education, for men and women, was a triumph only second to his service to the public schools of our nation. During these trying years at Antioch, Mrs. Mann stood nobly by her husband in all his battles. She knew just what to say and do to strengthen and inspire the President at all times. No one could have done it better.

On Commencement day, 1859, President Mann delivered his last graduating address. He knew his work was done, and again his audience heard his great challenge: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity." In the early days of August, President Mann realized that death was near, but up to the last day, he gave no heed to the summons and so passed away, amid great sorrow and mourning among all who knew him. President Mann's final resting place is at Providence, Rhode Island, where he is buried by the side of his first wife, Charlotte Messer Mann.

The story of the life of Horace Mann is finished. He lived to do good. He had no other work. His days were full, always a little more than his strength allowed, yet little or no complaint came from him. To have walked with him, and talked with him would have been an education. To such men we owe our freedom, our education, and our life.

Little has been said of Mann's closest friends. Perhaps E. G. Loring was closest to him. Henry Barnard, second only to Mann in educational leadership, worked in Connecticut and Rhode Island and did for these states what Mann did for Massachusetts. He

HORACE MANN

loved Horace Mann as a brother and always acknowledged the greatness of his friend.

Mann's life purpose is pictured in the following quotation taken from his Inaugural Address:

"Let us dedicate this college to two great objects which can never be separated from each other—the house of God and the service of man; let us renewedly consecrate our own hearts to the worship of our Father in Heaven and to the welfare of our brethren upon earth."

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HENRY BARNARD

HIS EARLY TRAINING (1811-1837)

Henry Barnard was born in Hartford, Connecticut, January 24, 1811. He received his early educational training in the district schools of the time. Barnard later said that he "spent half of his life in outgrowing the bad methods of study there formed." However, this training exerted a tremendous influence upon him in his later work for educational reform. His own words portray the full significance of the imprint the common school left upon his thinking:

"It was a common school, a school of equal rights, where merit and not social position was the acknowledged basis of distinction, and, therefore, the fittest seminary to give the schooling essential to the American citizen."

After completing the work of the common schools Barnard continued his studies at the Munson Academy, located at Munson, Massachusetts. He finished his college preparatory work at the Hopkins Grammar school in New Haven, Connecticut.

In 1826, while but fifteen years of age Barnard entered Yale University, where he made an outstanding record for intellectual accomplishment. He took a prominent part in the literary societies of the University, and was recognized for his ability as an orator. In addition to these activities he carried off first honors in the competitions in English and Latin composition.

During the last two years of his college training Barnard was assistant librarian at the University, an experience which gave him a very thorough knowledge of bibliographies. This was invaluable to him in his later work, as editor of *The American*

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Journal of Education. The small salary which he received for his work as librarian was returned to the library in gifts of books.

Before reaching the age of twenty Barnard graduated from Yale. He immediately started the study of law, which he planned to make his life work. His interest in law, however, did not keep him from continuing his reading in classical and historical literature, in fact he spent far more time in his reading than he did in his study of law.

President Day of Yale University, who had been his "guide, philosopher and friend" during his four years at Yale, prevailed upon him to put aside his law temporarily and take charge of an academy at Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. His work at the academy offered him an opportunity to study education. Upon his return home he renewed his study of law and in 1835 was admitted to the bar in Connecticut.

While a student at Yale Barnard spent his vacations traveling. These trips carried him over most of his own country and gave him a knowledge of the social conditions in the United States. He had a desire to travel extensively in Europe and when he was admitted to the bar his father made it possible for him to do so.

In Europe Barnard's travels were on foot. He covered large portions of England, Scotland, and Switzerland. His primary interest was in the social condition of the people in these countries; he carefully observed social, municipal, scholastic, charitable and political conditions. Originally, his plans had included an extended stay in Berlin to study civil law; his father's illness made this impossible.

Influential friends made it possible for Barnard to meet such men as Webster, Calhoun, Madison and Marshall in the United States and Wordsworth, Carlisle, and De Quincy in Europe. These contacts were an inspiration.

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His travels were not as extensive as he had planned but they were sufficient to furnish a background which was ideal preparation for his future work.

HEAD OF THE CONNECTICUT COMMON SCHOOLS (1838-1842)

In 1837 Henry Barnard, at the age of twenty-six, was elected to the state legislature without being a candidate for the office. This is one of the few examples we have in American History of a strong man being placed in office, by the people, without any effort upon his own part.

Henry Barnard had made no conscious preparation for leadership in education; he had planned to practice law. Naturally, he was reluctant to give up his plans but that unconscious preparation for educational reform which had been such a predominant part of his early training, had created within him the urge for service. Being a member of the legislature meant an opportunity to wage an active campaign for educational improvement.

Upon taking office he was accepted by the members of the assembly as a leader. He became the author of measures which "changed the entire character of the common school of his own State and set the copy for the work of revival and reconstruction in popular education." From the outset he was greatly interested in such subjects as prison reform, the education of the deaf and the blind, which was under the direction of Rev. T. H. Gallaudet; and the incorporation of public libraries. His major interest, however, was the betterment of schools. A carefully planned program culminated in the presentation of a bill to the legislature which created the position of Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools. This bill passed both houses without a dissenting voice. Barnard's presentation speech was a masterpiece. We shall merely quote his closing remarks:

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"Here, in America, at last no man can live for himself alone. Individual happiness is here bound up with the greatest good of the greatest number. Every man must at once make himself as good and as influential as he can and help, at the same time, to make everybody about him and all whom he can reach better and happier. The common school will no longer be regarded as common because it is cheap, inferior and attended only by the poor and those who are indifferent to the education of the children, but common as the light and the air, because its blessings are open to all and enjoyed by all. That day will come. For me I mean to enjoy the satisfaction of the labor, let who will enter into the harvest."

Probably the best emphasis we can give to the importance of this accomplishment is by quoting from the *Connecticut Common School Journal*:

"The most signal service rendered by him to the state was in originating and carrying through both Houses of the Legislature in 1838, with unprecedented unanimity, an act to provide for the better supervision of the Common Schools, the commencement of a new era in our school history."

Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet was elected first Secretary but declined and Henry Barnard was named to fill the position. The opportunity to become the partner of his old law instructor came at this time. It was difficult for Barnard to turn down this offer, but as before he was guided by his desire to bring about the improvement of the schools.

The duties of the Secretary as prescribed by the Board were: first, to ascertain the condition of the schools; second, to inform the legislature of their condition and present plans and suggestions for the better organization and administration of the school system; third, to address educational meetings in every county of the state; fourth, to edit a journal devoted to common school education; and fifth, to increase the interest of the community in relation to popular education.

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Barnard was indefatigable in his work. He held school conventions, public meetings, conducted school inspections, carried on extensive communications with the teachers, and pushed forward the publication of the *Connecticut Common School Journal*. Horace Mann paints a vivid picture of Henry Barnard's work as head of the Connecticut schools:

"The cold torpidity of the state soon felt the sensations of returning vitality. Its half-suspended animation began to quicken with a warmer life. Much and more valuable information was diffused. Many parents began to appreciate more adequately what it was to be a parent; teachers were awakened; associations for mutual improvement were formed; system began to supersede confusion; some statutory laws were enacted; all things gave favorable indication of a profitable career, and it may be affirmed that the course was so administered as to give occasion of offense to no one. The whole movement was kept aloof from political strife. All religious men had reason to rejoice that a higher tone of moral and religious feeling was making its way into schools, without giving occasion of jealousy to the one-sided views of any one denomination."

In May, 1839, he made his first annual report to the legislature. This report was a scholarly and comprehensive survey of conditions. Kent in his commentaries on American law refers to the report:

"It is a bold and startling document, founded on the most painstaking and critical inquiry, and contains a minute, accurate, comprehensive, and instructive exhibition of the practical condition and operation of the common school system of education."

At the end of four years there was a political upheaval in Connecticut. Barnard was let out of office and all of his work discarded. Horace Mann expresses his feelings over the situation in these words:

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"Four years ago, a new system was established in Connecticut, which was most efficiently and beneficially administered, under the auspices of one of the ablest and best men; but it is with unspeakable regret that I am compelled to add, that, within the last month, all her measures for improvement have been swept from the statute books."

HEAD OF THE RHODE ISLAND SCHOOLS (1843-1849)

Upon his removal from office in Connecticut Barnard immediately began to gather material for a history of education in the United States. His work in Connecticut had not gone unnoticed, however, and in 1843 he was invited by Governor Fenner of Rhode Island to become head of the schools of that state. Barnard was hesitant about giving up his work on the history but was persuaded that he could accomplish more by making history than by writing it. There is some disagreement as to the month he took over his new responsibilities but all are agreed as to the year, 1843.

The energy and enthusiasm which had accomplished so much in Connecticut reached still greater limits in Rhode Island. Only a man possessed with a sincere desire to serve could have accomplished the task he set for himself. The pace was terrific and at the end of five years he was forced to retire, due to failing health.

During this five year period Barnard conducted over eleven hundred meetings to discuss public schools. He made over fifteen hundred personal addresses, held over two hundred meetings of teachers and parents, and prepared and distributed over sixteen thousand educational pamphlets. At the time of his retirement twenty-nine out of the thirty-two towns in Rhode Island had at least five hundred volumes in their libraries.

This vast amount of work, which had broken his health, was appreciated in Rhode Island and throughout the United States.

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The teachers of Rhode Island presented Barnard with a valuable present and the Governor of the state was instructed by the legislature to communicate this resolution:

"Resolved, unanimously, that the thanks of this general assembly be given to the Hon. Henry Barnard for the able, faithful, and judicious manner in which he has for the past five years fulfilled the duties of Commissioner of Public Schools in the state of Rhode Island."

Barnard's response to this communication was:

"If, during the past five years, anything has been done to increase the facilities for individual and professional improvement enjoyed by teachers, and to raise the social and pecuniary estimation in which their services are held and rewarded; if any advance has been made toward the better organization and administration of a system of public schools, and the more thorough, complete, and practical education of the whole people, these results are the sum total of innumerable contributions, all of them as meritorious and many of them, I doubt not, more important than my own. Every teacher who has, with or without the help of books, institutes, and sympathizing friends, made his school better than he found it; every school officer who has aimed faithfully to understand and execute all the details in the local administration of the new system; every person who, by his voice, pen, vote, his pecuniary aid, or his personal influence, has contributed to the earnest awakening of the legislature and the people to the importance of this much-neglected public interest, and in favor of liberal and efficient measures of educational reform, has labored with me in a common field of usefulness, and is entitled to whatever credit may be attached to a successful beginning of the enterprise.

Such is the nature of the ever-extending results of educational labor that, if a successful beginning has been made in any department of this field, no matter how small may be the measure of success, we should feel amply rewarded for our exertions, and, with love, hope, and patience in our hearts,

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we should hold on and hold out to the end. Whoever else may fail or falter, may every teacher in the state persevere until Rhode Island stands acknowledged before the world a model state for her wise system of popular education. Then will her workshops be filled with intelligent, inventive, and contented laborers; her cities and villages be crowned with institutions of religion, benevolence, and charity; and every home throughout her borders be made a circle of unfading smiles.

The cause of true education, of the complete education of every human being without regard to the accidents of birth or fortune, is worthy of the concentration of all our powers, and, if need be, of any sacrifice of time, money, and labor we may be called upon to make in its behalf. Ever since the Great Teacher condescended to dwell among men, the progress of this cause has been upward and onward, and its final triumph has been longed for and prayed for, as well as believed in, by every lover of his race. And although there is much that is dark and discouraging in the past and present condition of society, yet, when we study the nature of education, and the necessity and capabilities of improvement all around us, with the sure word of prophecy in our minds, and with the evidence of what has already been accomplished, the future rises bright and glorious before us. On its forehead is the morning star, the herald of a better day than as yet dawns on our world. In this sublime possibility and in the sure word of God, let us, in our hours of doubt and despondency, reassure our hope, strengthen our faith, and confirm the unconquerable will. The cause of education cannot fail unless all the laws which have heretofore governed the progress of society shall cease to operate, Christianity proved to be a fable, and liberty a dream."

The following quotation from the *North American Review*, July, 1848, gives a brief of Barnard's accomplishments in Rhode Island:

"Public confidence has been secured; the two political parties are of one mind about school reform. In 1846 all the

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towns of the state, for the first time since the colony was planted taxed themselves for school purposes. In three years one hundred twenty thousand dollars (\$120,000) has been raised for school houses out of the city of Providence; and the traveler is now delighted at the external neatness, the internal convenience, and in some instances the architectural beauty of the school houses that have everywhere sprung up. Teachers of a high order have been introduced; good wages are paid; and a vigilant supervision has been established."

HENRY BARNARD RETURNS TO CONNECTICUT

The work which Barnard started in Connecticut before going to Rhode Island was not completely lost; many friends of education and advocates of his ideals carried on. It took nine long years to develop the appreciation for Barnard in his own state which brought him back in 1851 as Principal of the State Normal School and State Superintendent of Public Schools.

Rev. Dr. Bushnell in his dedication address of the State Normal School at New Britain, Connecticut, welcomed Barnard home:

"After encountering years of untoward hindrance here, winning golden opinions meantime from every other state in the republic, and from ministers of education from almost every nation of the world, by his thoroughly practical understanding of all that pertains to the subject; after raising also into vigorous action the school system of another state, and setting it forward in a tide of progress, he returns to the scenes of his beginning and permits us to congratulate both him and ourselves in the prospect that his original choice and purpose are finally fulfilled."

Barnard served his state and his purpose untiringly until 1855, when his health again called a halt to his activities. His retirement was accepted with regret by the friends of education. The following statement appeared in the *Connecticut School Journal*:

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"We will never forget the generous and indomitable spirit which prompted him in the outset of his public life to plead the cause of the common school, without fee or hope of reward, before a cold and unwilling audience in the highest council of the state; which induced him to abandon a professional career, for which he had made a most costly and diligent preparation, and in which, steadily pursued, he was sure to win both distinction and wealth; which has enabled him to turn a deaf ear to the voice of political ambition, and to close his heart to the seductions of popular applause, so easily gained by one possessed with his power of oratory in the discussion of questions of temporary interest; which has led him to decline positions of the highest literary dignity in college and university, that he might give himself up unreservedly to the cause of the common schools."

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (1858-1860)

In 1858, three years after his retirement in Connecticut, Henry Barnard had recovered in health sufficiently to accept the Presidency of the University of Wisconsin.

His official position as head of a university did not dampen his ardor and enthusiasm for the development and improvement of public schools. He continued his efforts in Wisconsin and before his health failed again in 1860 he had organized a system of oral and written examinations for the state, begun a series of teachers institutes, republished articles from *The American Journal of Education* to give to the teachers, and personally reached over three-fourths of the teachers of the state.

The University did not accept his resignation until February, 1861.

PRESIDENT OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE (1866)

In 1866 St. John's College at Annapolis, Maryland, was reopened and Henry Barnard accepted the Presidency. His first

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official act was to invite the teachers' association to meet at the school and to open the doors of the institution to teachers. Classes were arranged to meet their convenience and teachers were charged no tuition fee.

Barnard did not finish the year at St. John's. He was selected to serve as the first United States Commissioner of Education in the spring of 1867 and accepted the position.

UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION (1867-1870)

It might be well at this point to give the act which established the National Department of Education:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be established, at the city of Washington, a Department of Education for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a Commissioner of Education, who shall be intrusted with the management of the department herein established, and who shall receive a salary of four thousand dollars per annum, and who shall have authority to appoint one chief clerk of his department, who shall receive a salary of two thousand dollars per annum, one clerk who shall receive a salary of eighteen hundred dollars per annum, and one clerk who shall receive a salary of sixteen hundred dollars per annum, which said clerks shall be subject to the appointing and removing power of the Commissioner of Education.

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Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Commissioner of Education to present annually to Congress a report embodying the results of his investigations and labors, together with a statement of such facts and recommendations as will, in his judgment, subserve the purpose for which the department is established. In the first report made by the Commissioner of Education under this act there shall be presented a statement of the several grants of land made by Congress to promote education, and the manner in which these several trusts have been managed, the amount of funds arising therefrom, and the annual proceeds of the same, as far as the same can be determined.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the commissioner of public buildings is hereby authorized and directed to furnish proper offices for the use of the department herein established."

In the fifty-sixth year of a life which had been devoted to the development of public education in the United States, Henry Barnard was selected to be the first United States Commissioner of Education. This was a fitting reward for a lifetime of service and achievement.

The first task Barnard assigned himself, upon taking office, was to make clear the provisions of the Act which had established the office. This completed, he conducted an investigation of education throughout the entire United States.

In 1868, Barnard presented an eight hundred fifty-six page report to the legislature showing the results of his nation-wide investigation. The report included surveys of National and State school legislation and a comprehensive account of public instruction in Switzerland and Prussia.

We can think of no better way to present the story of Barnard's work as Commissioner of Education than by quoting in full the letter of General John Eaton, Barnard's successor, to Dr. William T. Harris:

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Washington, D. C., May 29, 1901.

Sir :

In reply to your request for "a brief account of Dr. Henry Barnard's connection with the Bureau of Education, mentioning the devices which he invented that came down to his successors," it is difficult for me to answer in full. My indebtedness to him personally was very great, but how much of this indebtedness came to me thru the bureau and how much thru his writings and other works previously, and from personal acquaintance with him, it would perhaps be impossible to relate. His publications I had studied, beginning with the period in which he was connected in one way or another with Dr. Absalom Peters, Superintendent Randall, Dr. Wilder, and Professor N. A. Calkins, in publishing the *American Journal of Education* and the *College Review*, in the fifties, before the *College Review* was dropped from the title. At different times also I enjoyed opportunities to study on the ground what I could see of his administration of state systems, both in Connecticut and in Rhode Island; and I knew how he had influenced educational efforts in Charleston, S. C., in New Orleans, and elsewhere in the South. Indeed, I knew that he had suggested to the secretary of the department the taking of illiteracy in the census when that item was first included. Altho I had been acquainted with the work of Horace Mann while a teacher in Massachusetts schools in different places, perhaps I knew more of that period of educational revival thru Dr. Barnard in which he had been so prominent. I had gathered what I could from his trip to Europe, and of his labors as president of the University at Madison, Wisconsin, and at St. John's College at Annapolis. To me he seemed to be the most eminent man at the time in the country in the knowledge of educational literature, and I felt great misgivings when I was called by General Grant to become his successor.

While I was Commissioner of Education I had visited him as state superintendent of schools, and had drawn upon him by letter. How much I had received from him in these various ways and how much came to me thru his efforts in the

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bureau, I repeat, it will be difficult to state. As early as 1854 he had made a movement for the establishment of a central office for educational information.

In response to a petition from a body of educators, especially made up of state and city superintendents of schools, prepared and presented by Hon. E. E. White, thru General Garfield, Congress had passed an act, approved March 2, 1867, establishing an independent Department of Education, to be conducted after the manner of the Agricultural Department, as it was administered at that time, with a commissioner of a salary of \$4,000 and a group of clerks. Dr. Henry Barnard was appointed to organize the department, and entered most earnestly upon the work. In time he encountered opposition in Congress. At the end of two years the department was reduced from its independent position to that of a bureau in the Department of the Interior. One thousand dollars was taken from his salary, and the clerical force reduced to that of two of the lowest grade with a salary of \$1,200 each, making the salary of the commissioner what it has remained to July of this year, \$3,000; from which time the amount is to be advanced to \$3,500.

On handing me the keys of the office the doctor informed me of his trying experience in securing quarters for the office; for it had been moved from place to place without his approval. There was belonging to it no library, excepting a small number of city and state reports. The publications in his possession, in a separate room, had come to him in his capacity as an editor, and were his private property. Later, as appropriations warranted, with the approval of the secretary of the interior, these were purchased, their value having been estimated by the librarian of Congress, A. R. Spofford, Esq., and others. He spoke somewhat specially of the difficulty of securing the passage by Congress of a resolution to print, but indicated that he had made a report May 30, 1868, to the Senate, which in July, 1868, had been ordered printed by the Senate separately to the number of 3,000 copies. The same resolution of the Senate included authority to print a like number of copies of the special report on the District

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of Columbia, prepared by him on the order of the House of Representatives. He also indicated to me the substantial preparation for printing of other material. Immediately, with the hearty approval of the president and of the secretary, Hon. J. D. Cox, previously obtained, I prepared a letter recommending its printing at once, which the secretary forwarded in due form with his official recommendation. Later, in order to facilitate the use of these letters for urgency among members of Congress, they were printed. A resolution to print this material passed the House, but did not pass the Senate, and thus our effort failed; but the material prepared afterward appeared in the Journal and the bureau, as far as possible, aided in its distribution. Later the bureau furnished Dr. Barnard copies of its reports to supply the place of one number of the Journal, thus giving his subscribers information of the condition of education in the United States.

This Journal, it may be remarked, is his monumental work. Its publication absorbed his fortune and impoverished his last years. Thus he made his greatest contribution to the bureau and to other educational agencies. This failure to secure a resolution to print left the doctor and myself both in a very trying situation. If the office could not print, it must fail. Who was so well prepared as my predecessor, by long experience in educational literature, to offer for print what would be valuable for the country? This compelled me to study the situation, and I found that there were those among the school superintendents of the country not ready to answer questions and furnish the necessary information which the department needed; others claimed that it would meddle with their rights. Some pointed out the difficulty arising from the fact that there was no uniformity of dates in the reports of state and city systems, and of educational institutions; others still fell back upon the fact that there was no authority given the bureau but that of using such information as was freely accorded to it.

The plan of work, as unfolded by reports, and especially by the carefully prepared circulars printed by Dr. Barnard,

was most comprehensive and seemed to leave little to be desired. What could be done? I inquired extensively among those who appreciated the importance of the office. In one of the reports of the state of Kentucky there will be found a portion of a statistical report copied from material obtained from Dr. Barnard and gathered by him. It was incomplete, and therefore it did not satisfy his judgment to use it, but its publication thus furnished evidence of the struggle he had made to get information which would satisfy the demands of Congress.

Of his devices, tables of statistics, abbreviated tests, the issue of periodical circulars, and the methods which he proposed for furnishing information to persons and officers, I had enough knowledge to lead me to value them most highly.

As county and city teacher I had been trained in the tabulation of school reports; as city superintendent of schools I had devices for the tabulation of data to enable me to see the situation of each school in each week's experience; in order to study the relation of education to crime I had collated the statistics of jails in Ohio, and as state superintendent of schools I had been called upon to prepare a complete system of recording and reporting attendance and finance; yet I could not see how his devices and methods could be essentially improved in form. What could be better? I determined in some way to find a method of securing publication. I was sure the reports of the office would have been enriched if they could have included his personal reminiscences of the progress of educational efforts, his long and varied experience, together with his alert editorial watchfulness of this progress, as it may be termed, which made his memories extremely valuable. But I could not obtain them for publication by any offer of compensation by the office.

After a few months of experience and consultation, material for a circular was submitted to the secretary of the interior and its publication approved with a measure of hesitancy. Less than eight months after my appointment, material for an annual report was submitted and published, with all its imperfections, substantially within the lines and forms

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adopted by Dr. Barnard, and in accordance with the forms required by law.

Of his relation to the shaping of the work of the office I might say perhaps more specifically of his plans and devices: (1) He gave his utmost influence to the establishing of the bureau; (2) he sought to make reports which would be truly national; (3) he sought most carefully to devise valuable forms for statistics and abbreviated statements; (4) he began the publication of circulars giving information in regard to miscellaneous educational topics; (5) he enforced the national obligation to education; (6) he emphasized the need of universal education; (7) he would make the bureau enforce the universal relation of education to all the details of man's improvement; (8) he would make it understood that the laws of education in their relation to man's welfare were the same to all races; (9) he would draw illustrations of educational processes from all nations and peoples; (10) he sought to stimulate improvement by using both the historical and comparative methods, setting over against each other different years and different institutions and systems by the publication of facts.

Indeed, it will be hardly possible for a national office of education to find anything appropriate to publish which is not included in the plans of Dr. Barnard as touching education and its relations.

In preparing this statement, I may add, I have consulted with two of the clerks, of whom one was a translator employed by Dr. Barnard, and also with Hon. George S. Boutwell, a surviving member of the committee of the House of Representatives which proposed the organization of the department. However unsatisfactory this statement, I can hardly make it more definite without quoting Dr. Barnard's language more at length.

Very respectfully yours,

John Eaton.

In 1870, Barnard left his position as United States Commissioner of Education and devoted the rest of his life to what is

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today accepted as probably the greatest single contribution to American education.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

Early in his career Henry Barnard edited the *Connecticut Common School Journal* and it was a great contribution to the development of education. However, Barnard, himself, realized that there was a need for a more philosophic and comprehensive review, if the teaching profession was to progress.

In 1854, at the meeting of the American Association of Education, Barnard submitted a "Plan of a Central Agency for the Advancement of Education in the United States."

The institution (or association) to appoint a secretary or agent, with a salary, and to furnish a room for an officer and depository of educational documents and apparatus, and beyond this not to be liable for any expense.

Again by the secretary or agent:

1. To devote himself exclusively to the "increase and diffusion of knowledge" on the subject of education, and especially of the condition and means of improving popular education and particularly

2. To answer all personal or written inquiries on the subject, and collect and make available for use information as to all advances made in the theory and practice of education in any one state or country.

3. To attend, so far as may be consistent with other requisitions on his time, and without charge to the funds of the institution (or association), educational conventions of a national and state character, for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information.

4. To edit a publication to be entitled the American Journal and Library of Education, on the plan set forth in the accompanying paper (A).

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5. To collect:
 - (a) Plans and models of schoolhouses and furniture.
 - (b) Specimens of maps and other material aids of education.
 - (c) Educational reports and documents from other states and countries.
6. To institute a system of educational exchange between literary institutions in this and other countries.
7. To make arrangements, and effect, if practicable, at least one meeting or conference of the friends of educational improvement in Washington (or elsewhere) every year.
8. To submit annually a report in which shall be given a summary of the progress of education in each state, and, as far as practicable, in every country.

This plan, which called for the publication of an educational journal, was approved by the association. Due to a lack of funds the Association was unable to carry out the plan. Barnard refused to let it fail. He personally assumed the responsibility and started to work on the publication of *The American Journal of Education*.

In May, 1855, he made the original announcement of the Journal in the form of a circular, which read:

"In the great educational movement now going forward on this continent, and especially throughout all of the states in which the English language prevails, there has seemed for many years to the undersigned to exist, if not a demand, at least the want of, not only an American Association of the friends of universal education, but also a series of publications which should on the one hand, embody the matured views and varied experience of wise statesmen, educators, and teachers in perfecting the organization, administration, instruction, and discipline of schools of every grade through a succession of years, under widely varying circumstances of government, society, and religion; and on the other hand, expose real deficiencies, excite to prudent and efficient action, and serve as a medium of free and frequent communication

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between the friends of education in every portion of this great field."

The first volume of *The American Journal of Education* was completed in May, 1856. It contained seven hundred sixty-eight pages and gave an extensive survey of modern educational procedure in the United States and Europe. In addition to this material there were biographies of educational leaders of the past and excerpts from their writings.

This first volume was well received and brought forth much favorable comment. Quoting from the *Westminster Review*:

"The first volume of the American Journal of Education we received with unmingled pleasure, save in regret that England has as yet nothing in the same field worthy of comparison with it."

Barnard only promised the publication of ten volumes of the Journal at the outset, but these were so well received that he decided to continue the work. By 1866 he had published sixteen volumes. At this time he became United States Commissioner of Education and the work of this office monopolized his time. The result was an irregularity in the publication of the next four volumes of the Journal. In 1871, with the twenty-first volume, regularity was resumed.

The only encouragement that Barnard received during the next ten years was his own sincere conviction that there existed a need for the publication. In a letter to Robert H. Quick, English editor, in 1878, he acknowledged the fact that he had exhausted his own funds and that it was going to be necessary for him to sell the materials for what they would bring on the "scrap" market.

"The publication of the Journal has proved pecuniarily disastrous. The subscriptions paid in from year to year, have never met the expenses of publication. My small in-

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come has been reduced by the deprivation of office and the pressure of the times. No publisher can be induced to undertake the responsibility of the Journal; and to carry on the work to a point where the encyclopedic scope of the undertaking could be seen and appreciated has involved my little property in mortgages, and myself in obligations which I am now making a desperate effort to meet. If I am successful in disposing of enough sets or volumes of the Journal to meet the obligations which mature before the first day of May, I shall continue the publication to the close of Volume XXVIII. If I am not successful, the plates (25,000 pages with more than 1000 illustrations of school structures), which have cost over \$40,000, will go into the melting-pot for type-metal, and the volumes on hand will be sold to buyers who may apply within a given time, and at the expiration of that time, will be converted into pulp by the paper-makers, and the avails thus realized will be applied, as far as they go, to meet my obligations; and thus will end with me an enterprise which has absorbed my best energies for the last twenty years."

Mr. Quick's reply was:

"I would as soon hear there was talk of pulling down one of the cathedrals and selling the stone for building material."

With the cooperation of Dr. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, Mr. Quick was able to prevent this catastrophe. By 1881, they had organized a corporation, with a capital stock of twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000), known as the "Henry Barnard Publishing Company." This corporation saved the materials of the Journal. A Henry Barnard Society was also organized. It had two purposes: first, to relieve Henry Barnard of any financial embarrassment during his last years; second, to bring to the attention of teachers the wealth of educational literature contained in *The American Journal of Education*. Membership in this Society entitled one to a set of the Journals at a reduced price.

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In the preface to the thirty-one volumes of the Journal Barnard stated his purpose as :

“A publication devoted exclusively to the history, discussion, and statistics of Systems, Institutions, and Methods of Education, in different countries, with special reference to the conditions and wants of our own.”

That this purpose was more than realized is acknowledged today. *The American Journal of Education* stands as a publication which is more than a review; in fact, it is an “encyclopedia of educational literature.” It was recognized by the *North American Review* in 1876 as

“The best and only general authority in respect to the progress of American education during the past century.”

In 1932, we may repeat the above quotation in establishing the place of *The American Journal of Education* in the educational literature of the world, without fear of contradiction.

HENRY BARNARD AND HIS EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Henry Barnard was one of those rare individuals who possess the personal power to accomplish their desire to serve. He was not content to merely advocate improvements but took definite steps to bring these improvements about. His conviction was that the proper place to obtain an education for American citizenship was in a public school; a school which carried the pupil beyond the elementary training of the lower common schools; a school which was free; provided for the education of both sexes; and offered a curriculum sufficiently broad to prepare for both college entrance and for life.

Recorded in *The American Journal of Education* are many of the plans suggested by Barnard for the improvement of the schools. One of these is a plan of gradation:

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1. "Primary schools for children between the ages of three and eight.
2. Secondary schools for those children between eight (or there about) and twelve or sixteen.
3. High schools to take children of the grade below and continue their instruction.
4. Intermediate schools to receive the class of pupils who are too old to be continued without wounding their self-esteem or interfering with the methods of discipline.
5. Supplementary schools to supply deficiencies in the education of individuals whose school attendance has been prematurely abridged."

An analysis of the above gradation will show how closely Barnard's thinking approximated that of the present time.

Probably the clearest way to bring out the real feelings of Barnard toward public schools is to use his own words:

"It must make good education common . . . common because it is good enough for the best, and cheap enough for the poorest family in the community."

"The school to be common, practically must be both cheap and good. To be cheap, its support must be provided for wholly or mainly out of a fund, or by public tax. To justify the imposition of a public tax, the advantage of such a school must accrue to the whole community. It must be shown to be a common benefit, a common interest, which cannot be secured so well, or at all, except through the medium of taxation."

The question of paramount importance confronting the educators of the nineteenth century was: shall the public schools provide an elementary education only; or shall they provide an additional training, which will fit the boys and girls of America, either for participation in society as worthwhile citizens or for advanced work in higher education? Barnard was an enthusi-

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astic advocate of advanced training and he worked untiringly for the development of the high school. He defined this unit as follows :

“By a public or common high school, is intended a public or common school for the older and more advanced scholars of the community in which the same is located, in a course of instruction adapted to their age, and intellectual and moral wants, and, to some extent, to their future pursuits in life.”

Barnard lists seven advantages to be obtained by the addition of this higher unit to the public school system: first, it will improve teaching; second, give completeness to the system of public instruction; third, provide a bond of union; fourth, place education within the reach of all classes; fifth, stimulate the pupil's interest in the work of the lower grades; sixth, diminish the aggregate expenditure for education; and seventh, create a better public sentiment toward education.

Barnard's efforts were one of the chief factors in the permanent establishment of the high school as a definite part of the American public school system.

A glance at the address made by Henry Barnard, at the opening of the Norwich Free Academy, will show the modernism of his philosophy of education :

“* * * I see no reason why the instruction of our schools, from the oral or primary, up to the university, should not deal with common things, with the principles, the phenomena and duties of everyday life.”

Barnard is credited by many as having been the instigator of teachers' institutes. The accuracy of this is beside the point; the fact remains, that he did do much toward the improvement of teacher training.

Among the many items pertaining to the improvement of schools, which were fostered by Barnard, were: record systems,

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housing conditions, equipment, and apparatus. His opinion upon apparatus is shown by the following quotation, from an article on the subject, in his Journal:

“* * * In addition to the necessary furniture of the school * * * every school room should be furnished with such apparatus as shall enable the teacher to employ the hand and eye of every pupil in illustration and experiment, so far as may be practical and desirable * * *.”

We cannot give a complete resumé of the addresses and writings of this eminent educational leader. These may be found in *The American Journal of Education* and other publications given in the bibliography.

One is certain to appreciate the service rendered American education, by Henry Barnard, when one observes the frequency with which he is referred to in writings of the present day. A full appreciation, however, can only be obtained by reference to *The American Journal of Education*.

In 1876, the *International Review*, in an article by Ray Palmer, paid tribute to Henry Barnard:

“Perhaps no man in the United States has done as much to advance, direct, and consolidate the movement for popular education. In looking back to the commencement of his life-long labors, it would seem that he must contemplate with eminent satisfaction the progress of public sentiment and the good results already attained, as well as the brightening prospects of the future. He has done work for which his country and coming generations ought to thank him and do honor to his name.”

Quick's "Educational Reformers," published in 1868 and today perhaps the best known educational book in the English speaking world, has the following dedication:

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"To Dr. Henry Barnard, the first United States Commissioner of Education, who, in a long life of self-sacrificing labor, has given to the English language an educational literature, this volume is dedicated with the esteem and admiration of the author."

In 1899, Henry Barnard expressed his appreciation of Robert H. Quick's efforts in helping him to avert the calamity of the destruction of his *American Journal of Education* in these words:

"Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have—books and my signature—give I unto thee."

Henry Barnard died July 5, 1900, after a lifetime of service to education. Many memoirs have been written of Henry Barnard but probably the keynote of his life may be best found in the following words of his own:

"So far back as I have any recollection, the cause of true education, of the complete education of every human being, without regard to the accidents of birth or fortune, seemed most worthy of the concentration of all my powers, and, if need be, of any sacrifice of time, money and labor which I might be called upon to make in its behalf."

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THE MCGUFFEYS AND THEIR READERS

INTRODUCTION

As an introduction to this sketch I have concluded to quote from a manuscript that recently came into my hands from Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was written by Mrs. Anna McGuffey Morrill, the daughter of Alexander Hamilton McGuffey who compiled McGuffey's Rhetorical Guide which afterwards was included in the Fifth and Sixth Readers of the series. Mrs. Morrill was born in 1845 and distinctly remembers the work of her father in connection with the McGuffey series. In the opening paragraphs of her very interesting contribution which covers seventy-five pages and takes the form of a communication to her daughter, Mrs. Alice Morrill Ruggles, she says:

Cambridge, Massachusetts

1921

My dear daughter;

At your earnest request I am writing down these fragments of my early life, and I will begin by telling you what you already know,—that I was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, January 10, 1845, and my father was Alexander Hamilton McGuffey, of "McGuffey Reader" fame, and my mother, Elizabeth Mansfield Drake, daughter of Daniel Drake, M.D., who is sometimes called 'The Father of Medicine in the Mississippi Valley.'

Who wrote, or rather, who compiled the McGuffey Readers? There has arisen lately in our family a discussion as to the true answer to this question, and I would like you to know the facts as I learned them from my father. He said he was a young man of twenty, when his brother, William Holmes McGuffey, who was sixteen years his senior, and a professor in the Miami University, received an offer

from the publishers, Truman and Smith, to prepare a set of school-books, for which the firm offered to pay the sum of one thousand dollars.

As Father was so young and not a busy man, your great-uncle William gave to him much of the burden of preparation. But Alexander did the work under the supervision of his brother, and he never claimed the individual credit for any of the first series, save the spelling-book.

The speller and the first four readers came out about 1837. Two years later, 1839, the year my father and mother were married, the publisher wished to add a more advanced reader, and as William McGuffey had left Cincinnati, they asked your grandfather to prepare it. This was "McGuffey's Rhetorical Guide," which was afterwards expanded into the Fifth and Sixth Readers.

So there is glory enough, (if glory it be), for both branches of the family. To William belongs the initiative, and the first four Readers; to Alexander, the Speller and the important Fifth and Sixth Readers.¹

I was astonished at the continued and growing interest in these old school books, and I am sure my father and Uncle William would be even more amazed. They must have builded better than they knew. My father always thought the original success of the series was owing more to the business acumen and push of Winthrop B. Smith of the publishing firm, than to the inherent merits of the books themselves. But posterity will not agree to this.

Mr. Smith and my father were close friends and dear, remaining so until Mr. Smith's death. Of course there was a great deal of money made out of the Readers, and in Uncle William's old age, the publishers granted him a very small

¹Minnich, Harvey C., *Miami University Bulletin*, July, 1928.

Alexander left his parental McGuffey home with William Holmes when the latter became professor of languages at Miami University. He spent ten years of his life in Oxford, Ohio, closely associated with his brother. From 1828 to 1830 he lived in the home of William and doubtless did much work in the compilation of the readers, at least he was present at every step in the making of these books.

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pension. Father received five hundred dollars for the Rhetorical Guide.

He always spoke of his part in the Readers as a bit of youthful hack work, and in the later editions asked to have his name removed from the title-page. Of course his interests were not primarily educational, as were Uncle William's. Uncle William's aim was to have the Readers instill moral lessons as well as correct English, and two of his favorite themes were the value of temperance and the wasteful wickedness of war.

Father became a busy and very successful lawyer and man of affairs. But he was a born pedagogue just the same, and his fondness for instructing has been inherited by several of his children and grandchildren, as you know. Your own father, with his dry Yankee humor, used to say we McGuffeys wanted to straighten out all the crooked sticks in the world.

I can never cease to be grateful to my father for instilling into his children a love of reading and a pleasure in words, their exact meaning and proper pronunciation. He constantly corrected our enunciation and intonations, and would no more tolerate a slovenly speech than a slouchy posture. He often inveighed against the influence of the newspapers, and the careless English of the reporters, which he felt was demoralizing our mother tongue.

What *would* he say nowadays, when the power of the press and the cheap magazines have increased a hundred-fold? Though I do think the general standard of popular writing has been greatly raised.

This is, of course, the testimony of the daughter of Alexander H. McGuffey who wishes her father's fame to go down with that of his older brother, William Holmes McGuffey. In this introductory quotation as well as elsewhere in her contribution, however, she gives full credit for the origin of the series and the work of assembling the selections therein, with the exceptions above noted, to her uncle. In this connection it should be remem-

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bered that Alexander H. McGuffey was graduated from Miami University at the age of sixteen years and that his educational qualifications to assist his brother in editorial work were unusual for one of his age.

THE MCGUFFEY FAMILY

William McGuffey and his wife Anna McKittrick McGuffey, came to America from Scotland in 1774. With them came their son Alexander, who was then six years old. The family landed at Philadelphia and soon afterwards went to York County, Pennsylvania. In 1779, the family moved to Washington County, Pennsylvania. William McGuffey was a Revolutionary soldier. Alexander McGuffey married Anna Holmes of Washington County. To them were born two sons: William Holmes, September 23, 1800, and Alexander Hamilton, August 13, 1816. Mr. Henry H. Vail tells us in his excellent *History of the McGuffey Readers*, that there were other members of this family, and Melancthon Tope, in *A Biography of William Holmes McGuffey*, gives the names of the additional children of this union as follows: Jane, born January 9, 1799, died in infancy; Henry, Mary and Henrietta. The last three were born in Trumbull (now Mahoning) County, Ohio. The family afterwards moved to Greenfield, Highland County, Ohio, where Alexander McGuffey's first wife, Anna (Holmes) McGuffey, died, January 20, 1829. His second wife was Mrs. Mary Dicky, nee Hemphill. To them were born four daughters. Alexander McGuffey, the father of William Holmes and Alexander Hamilton McGuffey, died March 2, 1855, and was buried beside his first wife at Greenfield, Ohio. In a letter dated July 16, 1856, Mary (Dicky) McGuffey writes that "William, Henry and Alexander have unitedly erected monuments to their father's and mother's graves.

Dr. William H. McGuffey married, April 3, 1827, Miss Harriet Spining, the daughter of Judge Isaac Spining of Dayton, Ohio.

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At the time of the marriage she was living with her brother Charles Spining on the home farm at Woodside, Dayton, Ohio. Of this union three children were born: Mary, who married William Walker Stewart of Dayton; Henrietta, who married Andrew Dousa Hepburn, and Charles who died at the age of fifteen years. Mrs. McGuffey, while visiting relatives on a farm near Dayton, was taken ill and died May 4, 1851. She was buried near her son Charles in Woodland Cemetery, Dayton, Ohio.

Dr. McGuffey again married. His second wife was Miss Laura Howard, who was born in 1818 and died in 1885. Of this union one child Anna, was born May 5, 1853, and died May 3, 1857. William Holmes McGuffey died May 4, 1873. He is buried with his second wife and daughter in the cemetery of the University of Virginia.

Alexander H. McGuffey was born in Trumbull (now Mahoning County, Ohio), August 13, 1816. He married Miss Elizabeth Drake in 1839. She was the daughter of Dr. Daniel Drake, at that time perhaps the most prominent citizen of Cincinnati. Of this union nine children were born: Daniel and Etta died in infancy; seven grew up to manhood and womanhood: Charles Drake, Anna, Edward Mansfield, Fred B., Alice, Helen Byrd, and William Holmes. Alice died soon after her marriage. The remaining six lived to advanced age. After the death of his first wife, Alexander Hamilton McGuffey married Miss Caroline Rich of Boston, in 1865. Of this union six children were born. At the death of their father in Cincinnati, June 3, 1896, three of the children survived: Margaret D., Agnes, and Kingsley.

The sympathetic relationship of the two brothers, William H. and Alexander H. McGuffey, is frequently attested. When the former assumed his duties as a member of the faculty of Miami University, he took with him his little brother, aged ten years, his junior by sixteen years, and saw him through the University

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course of study. He was an apt student and was graduated at the age of sixteen years. His daughter, Mrs. Anna McGuffey Morrill, tells us:

When my father's turn had come to be educated, William had been able and willing to help him. So little Alexander had an easy road compared to his elder brother; when he was only ten, he was placed in his brother's charge at Miami (Oxford, Ohio), and he learned Hebrew grammar before he did English. Uncle William tried out all his theories on his small brother and let him advance as fast as he could and would. The result was that Alexander, who was a brilliant student, was graduated from college at the age of sixteen.

The happy and mutually helpful brotherly relationship is further attested in a letter from Rev. Edward M. McGuffey, Director of St. James Church, New York City, a son of Alexander Hamilton McGuffey, to Mrs. Myrtis G. Reese, Secretary of the McGuffey Society of Columbus, Ohio, under date of March 4, 1927. The letter reads in part as follows:

I knew my uncle, William H. McGuffey, quite well, and on the occasions of his yearly visits north from the University of Virginia, where he was in his later years a famous professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, I often walked with him on my father's country place farm, in Warren County, Ohio. He was an incisive thinker, and could express his thoughts in clear-cut English that left nothing to be desired. He was a fine specimen of intellectual and moral culture, but was chiefly concerned with those great principles which underlie moral and social life. If he was dogmatic, it was because he had thought deeply and clearly.

As he had always lived on a limited income, his personal and family economics were necessarily severe. But in all things as regards the expression of personal opinion he was fearless and independent.

Between William H. and Alexander H. there always existed the greatest affection. They were typical and ideal

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brothers. While William H. McGuffey was struggling with poverty during his early professorial years, my father, Alexander H. McGuffey, was a rising and prosperous lawyer in Cincinnati, Ohio. My father often helped out his older brother, who never forgot the help received. It seemed to be the rule that what each had the other shared.

PIONEERING

The ancestors of this branch of the McGuffey family came from Scotland to America shortly before the Revolution, and landed at Philadelphia. With them they brought their little son Alexander, aged 6 years. They settled in York County, southeastern Pennsylvania. Soon after they came to this country the colonies were involved in the War of the Revolution. Eastern Pennsylvania was the scene of long continued activity in this struggle. The father of Alexander McGuffey was a Revolutionary soldier. This is a tradition in the family that on different occasions General Washington stopped at the McGuffey home while the war was in progress.

From York County the family migrated to southwestern Pennsylvania, where they found a new home in the rich lands of Washington County. Their son, Alexander, became an Indian scout. He was twenty-two years old when he volunteered for this service. One of his friends, Duncan McArthur, afterward became Governor of Ohio. He and Alexander McGuffey gained fame as fleet runners and skilled marksmen. Both enjoyed the service. The dangers that it involved seemed only to add zest.

At this time while William Penn and his followers were opposed to Indian fighting, the Scotch and Scotch-Irish were not deterred by conscience or religion from the pursuit and slaying of the wild red men of the forest. The wives and children of the whites along the border were in constant dread of the savages. The white frontiersmen in many instances had brought with them

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from European countries centuries of fighting experience in their ancestry.

Alexander McGuffey had frequent experiences in the intermittent warfare of the frontier—chiefly in western Pennsylvania and along the Ohio River. When General St. Clair made his famous expedition from the village of Cincinnati against the Indians in 1791, Alexander McGuffey served with his scouts. They made excursions into the forests in advance of the army—sometimes traveling stealthily by night, and hiding in the daytime. They had returned to the army a short time before the fatal attack by the Indians in what is now Mercer County, Ohio, and the overwhelming defeat of St. Clair. Fortunately young McGuffey escaped with the remnant of the army, evidently in no wise discouraged or dissuaded from making war on the red men. In the year 1793, we find him again with the scouts of General Anthony Wayne. It is related by his descendants that one evening, as he and a few of his comrades were stealing along a trail, he saw in front of them the bright colored headdress of an Indian warrior. He surmised at once that it was an Indian trick to stop the scouts while the savages should fire upon them from ambush. With daring bravado he ran forward, gave the headdress a kick and shouted "Indians!" A number of shots flew after him from the bushes and one of them smashed his powder horn and passed through his clothing, we are told. He and his companions escaped, however, without a wound. A descendant expressed regret that the shattered powder horn had not been preserved to posterity. Its absence and the fact that it comes down in the family as a "tale that is told" transfers it to the long line of traditions of the border wars—to the hair-breadth escapes which were sufficiently numerous and some of which were, of course, traditions only.

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Alexander McGuffey went with the army of General Wayne to the Battle of Fallen Timbers. After the close of the war and the Treaty of Greenville, he returned to western Pennsylvania, married and settled down to a comparatively quiet life. Here his first child, William Holmes, the compiler of the Readers, was born September 28, 1800. From this pioneer home, when he was two years old, his parents migrated to eastern Ohio and settled in Trumbull County, which then included the entire Western Reserve. The McGuffey homestead was located five miles north of the present site of Youngstown and two miles east of Hubbard, in what is now Mahoning County, Ohio.

The mother's name before she was married was Anna Holmes. The name Anna was in the family on both sides.

EDUCATION

William Holmes McGuffey, the oldest child of the family, early gave evidence of the possession of an inquiring and receptive mind. He was a very teachable child. His parents were not financially able to send him to an academy and there were no free public schools in those early days. His teaching fell to the lot of the mother. She was a very devout woman, a faithful member of the Presbyterian Church. She taught him to read and write and gave him lessons from the Bible. He had an excellent memory. He readily committed short passages of Scripture and as he advanced in years entire chapters. It was reported by some of his biographers that he could repeat entire books of the Bible. This may be an over-statement but many have borne testimony to the fact that he could very readily quote from the Scriptures always with precise accuracy.

McGuffey's mother was eager that he should have an opportunity to acquire a higher education. His biographers tell the story of her prayers for this blessing to her son. One day as

she fervently offered up her petition in the garden of her home, Rev. Thomas E. Hughes was riding past and listened to her earnest plea. He was so struck with what he heard that he dismounted, made her acquaintance and invited her son William to enter his school in the old stone academy at Darlington, Pennsylvania. The tuition at this school was three dollars a year and the board was seventy-five cents a week. How even this small sum was raised in those strenuous times when money was almost unknown is not explained. Possibly other students in attendance came from homes where funds were more abundant. The name of William Holmes McGuffey does not appear in the printed catalogue of the old stone academy but there is ample evidence that he received instruction here under Rev. Hughes. The old stone building still stands at Darlington. Clement L. Vallandigham was at one time enrolled among the students of the academy.

In 1820 an opening occurred in a new school established in Warren, Ohio. William McGuffey appeared before the board of school examiners to qualify for headmaster of this school. The examination, which was conducted by two Yale graduates, was said to have been difficult. McGuffey failed to pass and, of course, lost the opportunity to be employed in the position he sought. His ambition to prepare himself for teaching in higher institutions of learning led him to enter Washington College in Washington County, Pennsylvania, where his rapid and substantial progress soon attracted the attention of professors and fellow-students. He taught a private school in Paris, Kentucky, in the winter of 1825-1826. According to a statement in a *History of Columbiana County* published in 1879, he taught a short time in the village north of East Liverpool and not far from the old stone academy at Darlington.

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In Faculties of Three Universities and Two Colleges

Rev. Robert Hamilton Bishop became president of Miami University in 1824. In seeking members for the faculty of that institution he met, in Paris, Kentucky, Mr. McGuffey then teaching in a private school at that place. He was much impressed with this young teacher, his methods of imparting instruction and his thorough devotion to his work. As a result of this meeting he offered McGuffey a position in Miami University. This he accepted before he received his degree from college. He graduated March 29, 1826, and promptly accepted President Bishop's offer, and in the autumn of that year he rode into Miami to enter upon his duties as professor of the ancient languages.

Miami University located in Oxford, Butler County, is one of Ohio's earliest educational institutions. Immediately after the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, Congress provided that the Board of Treasury should be authorized to sell to any person or persons a grant of land to the north of the Ohio River. Then came John Cleves Symmes for a grant of land between the two Miami Rivers. In this grant one full township was reserved for the support of an institution of learning. It was found impractical to use the particular township designed, and Congress substituted another township in the district. Oxford township, Butler County, was finally chosen. In 1809, the General Assembly of Ohio passed an act creating, "the president and trustees of Miami University."

Hither came William Holmes McGuffey to assume the duties of the position and here he remained until 1836.

While teaching at Miami University, McGuffey demonstrated that he was a perfectly normal youth by falling in love with a young lady. He met Miss Harriet Spining who was visiting her

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uncle Charles Spining, who at the time lived in Oxford. The family later moved to Woodside, Dayton, Ohio. In those days letters addressed to the sweetheart or fiance in the families of high standing must pass through the hands of her parent or guardian. Letters intended for Miss Spining were, therefore, addressed to her uncle Charles Hall Spining, and McGuffey indicated that they were really to stop in the hands of Miss Spining by underscoring the initial of the middle name of her uncle. Miss Spining was, of course, alert upon the arrival of the mail and there is no evidence that any letter from her lover failed to reach the hand and heart for which it was intended. The two were married at the Woodside home.

In 1829, he was ordained minister in the Presbyterian Church. According to his own statement he preached in his lifetime more than three thousand sermons.

After entering upon the duties of his professorship at Miami University, he promptly grew into favor as a popular lecturer. His themes took a wide range, including "Education," "Temperance," "Philosophy," and many other specific topics such as "The Common Schools," "School Examinations," "The Relationship of Parents and Teachers," and "Ethics of Education." Notwithstanding his rising popularity as teacher and lecturer, his ten years at Oxford were not all smooth sailing. He had been elected to teach the Ancient Languages, but he had a predilection for Philosophy. This was taught by President Bishop, but by degrees and evidently by the exercise of a little polite legerdemain, a new chair was "struck off from the President's Department" under the designation of "Mental Philosophy and Philology." This chair was assigned to McGuffey who was young and ambitious and really thought that he could instruct in this field better than the President.

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Possibly this was true. It is scarcely necessary to say, however, that a foundation was thus laid for trouble in the Faculty. President Bishop seems to have acquiesced for a time in the interest of harmony, but he could hardly overlook the fact that he had brought young McGuffey to the institution to teach Ancient Languages and not to intrude upon the field that he had reserved for himself. This unfortunate condition of affairs led to increasing unpleasantness between these two members of the Faculty and finally to the resignation of Professor McGuffey. This was tendered on August 26, 1836, and was accepted without regrets in the following terse resolution as recorded in the minutes of the Board of Trustees under date of September 27, 1836:

On motion of Mr. Foster the Board adopted the following resolution: Resolved that the resignation of Prof. McGuffey presented to this board be accepted and his professorship be declared vacant.

Under the leadership of a number of public-spirited men, Cincinnati College was reorganized in 1836 with departments in "Arts, Sciences, Law, and Medicine." The Medical Department had eight competent professors with Dr. Daniel Drake at its head. The Law Department had three professors and the Arts Department seven instructors. William H. McGuffey was chosen president of the college, and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy; O. M. Mitchel was Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, and Edward D. Mansfield was Professor of Constitutional Law and History. Assuredly here was a very able faculty. The institution started with a fair endowment for those days and bright prospects. With the Panic of 1837, financial difficulties developed, the members of the faculty separated and the institution ceased to function.

In 1839, the President of Ohio University at Athens, Ohio, retired and Dr. McGuffey was elected to fill the vacancy thus

created. Under his administration the University prospered. He entered upon and pursued his work with his usual vigor and enthusiasm. The number of students gradually increased from ninety in 1840 to one hundred sixty-six in 1843. But financial difficulties loomed athwart the horizon. The General Assembly enacted a law authorizing the Trustees of the University to order a revaluation of the property from which that institution derived its support. The persons to whom the lands were leased from which this revenue was derived were to pay a tax of 6% of homesteading prices of the land. This meant an increase in taxation for the renters of these lands. A great uproar over this situation promptly developed. Dr. Minnich in describing this says:

Great bitterness of feeling developed against the college on the part of the lessees. Mr. McGuffey who was ex-officio President of the Board of Trustees and who had been active in the reappraisement, fell heir to most of the contumely. He was often jeered and hissed upon the streets of Athens and suffered indignities from time to time in his public appearances.

In March of 1843, the General Assembly of Ohio passed an act releasing the lessees from the reappraisement. This led to the collapse of the financial program of the University. Dr. McGuffey, disgusted and discouraged, resigned the presidency in a letter to the Board of Trustees November 25, 1843. He then was employed as a teacher in Woodward College, Cincinnati, where he continued two years.

These were uneventful years in his life. He lived with his brother Alexander, who was a professor of the faculty of that institution. His interest in the cause of education, however, did not lag. He continued to lecture and preach. His fame as an educator did not wane.

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On July 28, 1845, he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia. In this position he served twenty-eight years, until his death May 4, 1873.

This position he found congenial to his tastes. In the social circle at Charlottesville and the surrounding region of the Old Dominion, he was very happy. Here he seems to have verified the familiar observation, "Blessed is the man who has found his work." After due allowance is made for the difficult circumstances under which he labored in Ohio, it must be admitted that he succeeded as a teacher better than as administrator. He entered upon his new position at the age of forty-five years, in health and the full maturity of his powers. In time he seems to have become a faithful son of his adopted state, Virginia.

CONDITIONS FAVORABLE FOR A NEW SERIES OF READERS

Much has been written of the background for the early development of a McGuffey system of Readers. The Northwest Territory and the states formed from it were fortunate in the character of the pioneers. They came from different sources and here formed that blend which is so distinctively American. Hither came the Puritan from New England, the Cavalier from Virginia, the Knickerbocker from New York, the Swede from New Jersey, the German from Pennsylvania, the Scotch-Irish from the hillsides and valleys of the Appalachian Mountains, the English and the Scotch from a number of the original states, the Welsh more or less directly from their native hills; the Huguenot from South Carolina, the Quaker from the Carolinas, Virginia and Pennsylvania; the Catholics from Maryland, the Baptists and Presbyterians from New Jersey; the Lutherans from the fatherland and the Moravians from eastern Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Young men of vigor and enterprise, of varied ancestry and faith, came hither to subdue the wilderness, to found a state

dedicated to universal liberty and prophetic of what the Republic was to become when the Confederacy of commonwealths should be welded into the "more perfect union" under the Constitution.

In an address before the McGuffey Society of Columbus, Ohio, Mr. John R. Horst spoke thus of this background for the achievement of McGuffey:

This was the stage upon which William Holmes McGuffey was about to enter and play his part. It was a great occasion; and the man was equal to the occasion. Perhaps Murray's English Reader was suitable to some peoples, but it was not suitable to these peoples. The puritanical readers of New England States were good for the New Englander, but they were not for the people of the Ohio Valley. The German reader brought with the Pennsylvania German would not answer, because of the newly acquired patriotism. It was put up squarely to William Holmes McGuffey, with the assistance of his brother, Alexander H. McGuffey, to supply a reader that would measure up to the requirements of a great people. How well this was done is attested by the fact that for nearly three quarters of a century, his books have been supreme in the schools of the Northwest Territory. There have been at least a dozen different copyrights of the McGuffey Readers. Each copyright has had many editions. One of the early books recites that it is the forty-first edition.

The tremendous influence of three quarters of a century of teaching from the same books cannot be over-stated. The tolerance of the selections relating to religion offended neither Jew nor Gentile, Catholic or Protestant. The selections teaching morality, 'that one should do unto others as he would be done by,' are many, and were effective in bringing up the standard of morality. The readers brought pupil and parent alike into contact with the best literature of the day. What means had the pioneer of gaining knowledge of classic writings except those which were found in the McGuffey Readers? Absolutely none. Where could they gain acquaintance with the refinement of poetry except in the McGuffey Readers? There was no other place. What could they know

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about Shakespeare except what they read in McGuffey? Nothing. In fact, the Readers touched upon every phase of human life to advantage. And we may still learn from them."

William Holmes McGuffey's keen insight into child nature made him an ideal instructor. The great teacher a century ago and the great teacher today was and is the teacher who can appreciate the difficulties of his pupils, who perceives almost instinctively the points in the lesson that they failed to comprehend, and who, by necessary explanations, question, illustration and drill, illuminates the path along which they are striving to travel. This teacher is thoroughly interested in his pupils or students, all of them, the backward and dull, as well as the bright and precocious. He is a stranger to impatience and finds his greatest joy in the responsive youthful mind and eyes that tell more plainly than words, "Ah, I now understand." Such a teacher was William Holmes McGuffey, and thus it was that when the day of tests came almost every student in his large classes was able to pass examination. His pupils without exception bear testimony to his devotion to his students.

In a memorial by R. G. Davis, we find these words of tribute:

He never seemed so happy as when, with his class around him in the lecture-room, he threaded the mazes of psychological inquiry, stepping from point to point with the bold determined step of a master—pouring a flood of illustration upon points the most obscure and perplexing—now luring on by the beauties of his imagery, now arousing by the glowing fervor of his style—now going back upon his course to meet and encourage those whose sluggish minds had not been able to follow him, mingling incident and anecdote, humor and pathos—his great heart warmed with the unquenchable desire that every member of his class should master the subjects of the course. It was no wonder that he was successful, and that all over the land there are men whose testimony is "he taught me as no other man ever did, to think."

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The scholarly U. S. Senator from Mississippi, John Sharp Williams, bore the following lucid and complimentary testimony to his former University Professor :

I "sat at the feet of Gamaliel," when he taught and lectured upon "Moral and Mental Philosophy" at the University of Virginia. I have had many teachers on this side and a few on the other side of the Atlantic. Dr. McGuffey possessed the ability to transplant ideas from his own mind to the minds of others and have them grow, to a degree never possessed by any other man with whom I ever had contact as a teacher. He constantly dwelt upon "Attention" and "Repetition" as the secrets of good "Memory." His habit in the hour and a half which he spent daily with us in the classroom was to consume one-half hour in examining the class on the reading and lecture of the preceding day, to follow that with the lecture for the day, after prescribing the reading for the next day's recitation, then to straighten himself up (he had a slight stoop) with his hand on the desk and his back to the black-board and have the class question him on any subject that had been gone into before. Kuno Fischer at Heidelberg always invited questions but it was sporadic when any were asked. He was next to McGuffey the clearest expounder of his ideas I have ever heard. But with McGuffey the examination of the teacher by the members of the class was daily, constant, regular, and we learned as much from it as from his examination of us. I don't know if he wrote down his lectures. What he knew he could impart to the dullest of his very large class. He graduated nearly every man in the class, not because he was lenient in marking, but because he had taught with clarity and they had learned the course—learned it to understand it and make it their own, part of the woof and web of their own thinking.

McGuffey's love for children and his familiarity with the psychology of child mind eminently qualified him to prepare his series of Readers which were to meet the need, first of the West and later of the entire country. He did not furnish copy of the

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text of his Readers to the publisher until he had thoroughly tested the principles on which they were based. His biographer tells us how he used to call his own and neighbor's children together for such tests. "He would call them from his portico by a shrill whistle made through the knuckles of his four fingers, a feat known to every rural lad of those days," for their lessons in the "Little Readers." He fully satisfied himself with the virtue of his method and the approval of his judgment in the selection of materials.

THE MCGUFFEY READERS

The early pioneers of America seem to have agreed that the reading placed in the hands of the rising generation should be of a highly moral character. The Bible was widely regarded as the sole repository of moral precepts and ethical authority. Quotations from the Scriptures and the catechism were believed to be about the only proper and safe reading to trust in the hands of the young.

The art of teaching one hundred and twenty years ago had made but little progress. To teach the pupil or student to think is the great aim of modern education. Receive, accept, obey, believe, were the watchwords of that elder day. This order was vigorously applied with but small regard for the capacity of the youthful mind to receive.

The country was rapidly settling. The immigrant population, by the very act of travel and contact with persons of like purposes and ambitions, was gradually becoming more intelligent. The Revolution had opened up, not only a vast physical expanse of territory but a clearer sky and broader view of civil liberty.

A new country and a new people were ready for a new educational system. Something a little less rigid and more varied than the scriptural text and the dogmatic catechism, a system of

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readers that should begin with things tangible to the apprehension of the pupil and lead him step by step along the path of learning without surrendering any of the great moral foundation which had been the aim of previous text-books. It was the great good fortune of William Holmes McGuffey to grasp the opportunity that the time held forth and through the Readers that bear his name to step into the moral and intellectual leadership of the Middle West—the region which became and still is the heart of our Republic.

Dr. McGuffey was not the only educator of his time who saw this opportunity. Numerous other series of readers were projected about this time. The McGuffey Readers triumphed over competitors and attained an ascendancy which they held for three generations. There were sold from the first issues to the year 1841, 700,000 copies. Dr. Harvey C. Minnich quotes Mr. Louis Dilman, president of the American Book Company, as stating that the entire sales of the McGuffey Readers, Spellers and Primers were substantially as follows in round numbers:

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Copies</i>
1836-1850	14	7,000,000
1850-1870	20	40,000,000
1870-1890	20	60,000,000
1890-1920	30	15,000,000
	—	—
Totals	84	122,000,000

Why were these Readers successful through so many years?

- I. *Because they were carefully graded to the development of the mind of the pupil.*

They began with short simple words and sentences within the range of the child mind.

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2. *The theories and lessons were thoroughly tested in actual class practice before the text of the books was published.*

The author was thus assured of the virtue of his selections and his method.

3. *The qualities of the books themselves.*

They differed widely from their most numerous published predecessors. Scripture references are at first rare, but as the child advances they are introduced. In the Fourth Reader there are seventeen selections from the Bible. The first and second Readers contain selections with morals clearly stated at the conclusion, sometimes after the manner of Aesop's Fables. Everything is kept within the comprehension and interest of the child. The later numbers of this series contained selections of genuine literary merit. In the third Reader we find "The Moss Covered Bucket," by Wordsworth, and "Destruction of Sennacherib," by Byron, and in the Fourth Reader, Byron's "Apostrophe to the Ocean."

4. *The Fame of the Author.*

The author early became known by parents and teachers as an educational leader. This inspired the faith of patrons and publishers.

5. *The Readers in the home became a little library.*

They were often about the only books in the home, that the children could read. The Readers with their brief selections and "pictures" were often a source of interest and self-instruction at the fireside on long winter evenings.

5. *Their moral tone and influence.*

Their selections were chosen with great care to impress moral precepts. If this is not formally stated it is so tangibly presented that it is readily seen and understood.

7. *The times.*

The times when these books were first published were ripe for their introduction. They were politically and religiously tolerant. They have been carefully kept free from anything that gave conscientious citizens serious offense. The changes that have been made at the different revisions have been improvements and have helped to keep them abreast of the times, without any abandonment of the original plan.

8. *The energy and skill of their publishers.*

Throughout their career these books have encountered vigorous opposition from rival publishers. The fight for trade has been constant and vigorous. Along the way are strewn many wrecks but the publishers of the McGuffey Readers have survived and prospered through the years.

The First Reader in a brief introductory announcement sets forth the plan of the series in the copyright edition of 1836 as follows:

TO TEACHERS

This little book is offered to the public, in the hope that it may prove a valuable auxiliary to those engaged in the instruction of children.

Great pains have been taken to select Lessons in which the phraseology is simple and the subjects interesting and natural to childhood. Having learnt from actual experience, that a child's progress is most rapid when the subjects are agreeable, and he can understand the terms in which they are conveyed.

The Lessons are short, and generally composed of words of one and two syllables. Great care has been taken to render them as progressive as possible, so that the child may not meet with many expressions which are strange to his ear, and none that are above his comprehension.

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The Spelling Lessons are composed of words derived from the Reading Lessons, and it will be found judicious for the Teacher to extend the exercise, by making further selections of the most difficult words. When reading and spelling are thus blended, the advance of the pupil is much more rapid.

We deem it important to state, that in the orthography we have followed Dr. Webster, whose name will long be held in grateful remembrance for the acceptable labor he has performed for the present and future generations.

The Engravings are designed to illustrate familiar scenes and objects treated of in the Lessons. These will please the eye, and explain things readily, where language might fail.

The First Reader contains no selections from the Bible, but a number of them are of a sincerely religious nature. The name of the Deity occurs in ten of the forty-five lessons. The Creator is presented as a good and kindly being and nowhere as a harsh and cruel master. The following is a summary by Henry H. Vail of the important selections in this little book:

In this book we find the story of the lame dog that, when cured, brought another lame dog to be doctored; of the kind boy who freed his caged bird; of the cruel boy who drowned the cat and pulled wings and legs from flies; of Peter Pindar the story teller, and the "snow dog" of Mount St. Bernard; of Mr. Post who adopted and reared Mary; of the boy who told a lie and repented after he was found out; of the chimney sweep who was tempted to steal a gold watch, but put it back and was thereafter educated by its owner; of the whisky boy; and of the mischievous boy who played ghost and made another boy insane. Nearly every lesson has a moral clearly stated in formal didactic words at its close.

Near the close of the book appears the temperance lesson entitled "Don't Take Strong Drink." It closes with these lines:

Whisky makes the happy miserable and causes the rich to become poor.

On the next page we will tell you a story about the "Whisky Boy." The lesson entitled "The Whisky Boy" closes as follows:

But John would not stop. He said if his father could drink whisky he could.

Before John was eight years old, he was a dreadful object and none of the boys would play with him.

His eyes were red, and his face was red and full of blisters. He was found drunk one day in the street and carried to the poor house where he died in two weeks. And how do you think his father felt after teaching him to drink whisky?

The eighty-six lessons of the Second Reader mark considerable advance in ability required to read and comprehend them readily, but the same care in the selection and presentation of material. There are moral and religious lessons including "Mortality," "Immortality," "The Lord's Prayer" in verse, "The Ten Commandments," "Young Soldiers," commencing with the words:

"Oh were you ne'er a school boy
And did you never train?"

"The Obedient Casabianca" contains the poem:

The boy stood on the burning deck
Whence all but him had fled.
The flame that lit the battle's wreck
Shone round him o'er the dead.

There were stories about George Washington, the planting of seeds to spell his name to prove design and the existence of a Creator. The book closed with the story of Jonah and the whale.

In the Third Reader there were several lessons from the Bible including the "Sermon on the Mount"; "Alexander the Great"; "Bonaparte Crossing the Alps," and "The Child's Inquiry" opening with the familiar lines:

How big was Alexander, Pa,
That people call him great?

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There were also early literary favorites, "The Moss Covered Bucket" and "Destruction of Sennacherib."

The Fourth Reader marks a more distinct advance in the grade of literature and contains many contributions that afterward found their way into the Fifth and Sixth Readers. Among them is one that was a great favorite of the late President Warren G. Harding. This is from Wirt and its title, "No Excellence Without Great Labor." There is also the well remembered lesson "The Blind Preacher" by the same author; "Antony's Oration Over Cæsar's Dead Body"; the temperance selection, "The Venomous Worm"; Montgomery's "Make Way for Liberty"; Nott's "Speech on the Death of Alexander Hamilton"; Philip's "Character of Napoleon Bonaparte," and other selections of like merit. This volume closes with "America—National Hymn."

Subsequent editions of the first four McGuffey Readers contain many new selections that are recalled by McGuffey readers now living. Among these are "The Seven Sticks," that united could not be broken, but singly were easily broken; "Speak Gently"; "We Are Seven"; "George and the Hatchet"; "Waste Not, Want Not," the story of saving the whipcord which has led to the saving of much cord used in wrapping packages; "The Hare and the Tortoise"; "Try, Try Again," and others too numerous to mention that have found lodgment in the memory of present and past generations.

REVISIONS

The First and Second Readers were published in 1836; the Third and Fourth Readers in 1837. In 1838 the publishers of the Worcester Readers instituted injunction proceedings against the publishers of the McGuffey Readers for infringement of copyright. The basis of this suit was the inclusion in McGuffey's Second Reader of ten selections that had previously been pub-

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lished in the Worcester Readers. This led Truman and Smith to revise the series of four Readers and issue them as a Revised and Improved Edition. In this edition the selections which had previously appeared in the Worcester Readers were omitted, their places supplied by carefully selected materials, and other additions and substitutions made, enlarging and improving the series. The legal proceedings were finally settled by Truman and Smith paying two thousand dollars to the publishers of the Worcester Readers.

The Revised and Improved Edition immediately became popular as evidenced by a large sale. The publishers of the Worcester Readers evidently did not profit long as a result of their victory in court. A few years later they went out of business while the publishers of the McGuffey Readers continued to prosper and their sales rapidly increased.

In 1841 McGuffey's Rhetorical Guide, compiled by Alexander H. McGuffey was added to the series, and in 1843 and 1844 the entire series was remodeled, the Rhetorical Guide appearing as the Fifth Reader.

In 1853 the Readers were again very materially revised and issued in six books as "The New McGuffey Readers." The Rhetorical Guide was absorbed largely in the Sixth Reader.

In 1879, the books were "renewed largely in substance and improved in form." Each book of the series bore the name "McGuffey's Eclectic Reader. Revised Edition."

A final Revision was made in 1901. This form is called "The New McGuffey Readers."

The revisions mark a successive improvement to keep the series abreast of the time. The older users of the books, however, will recall that these revisions were often regarded with suspicion. When the Sixth Reader was introduced and a majority of the

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class in a rural school brought the Fifth Reader that had been used by a parent, older brother or sister of the family, the teacher had the task of selecting lessons that were in both Readers in order to preserve peace. Parents who had to purchase the books not infrequently found refuge in the charge that revisions were made to sell more books. Publishers sometimes found it necessary to exchange the revised edition, book for book, for the edition replaced.

A distinct improvement was made in the illustrations of these books. Some of those in the early series were inartistic and quaint. The later series had after the title of the lesson, the name and a brief sketch of the author. This was to satisfy the inquiring youth who often would ask "Well, who wrote this?" Seldom was a question raised about the compiler of the books. For many years very few who read, reread and committed to memory these readers knew or cared anything about McGuffey. Interest in these great educators has at last arrived years after they have passed on.

PUBLISHERS OF THE MCGUFFEY READERS

<i>Years</i>	<i>Firm Name</i>	<i>Partners</i>
1836-1841	Truman & Smith.....	William B. Truman Winthrop B. Smith
1841-1852	Winthrop B. Smith.....	
1852-1863	W. B. Smith & Co.....	Winthrop B. Smith Edward Sargent Daniel Bartow Sargent
1863-1868	Sargent, Wilson & Hinkle.....	Edward Sargent Obed J. Wilson Anthony H. Hinkle Winthrop B. Smith D. B. Sargent

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1868-1877	Wilson, Hinkle & Co.....	Obed J. Wilson Anthony H. Hinkle Robert Quincy Beer Caleb S. Bragg (1871)
1877-1890	Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co.....	Lewis Van Antwerp Caleb S. Bragg Henry H. Vail Robert F. Leaman S. Howard Hinkle Harry T. Ambrose
1890-	American Book Co.	

WESTERN LITERARY INSTITUTE AND COLLEGE OF PROFESSIONAL TEACHERS

During the period that Dr. William Holmes McGuffey was actively engaged in educational work in Ohio he was ever interested in the establishment of free educational facilities for all the children of the State. Heably supported Samuel Lewis, State Superintendent of Schools, through the years of his service in that position (1837-1839).

On June 20, 1831, that earnest educator Mr. Albert Pickett proposed a plan for organizing the teachers in public and private schools and the friends of education into one body for co-operation and the advancement of the cause of education. As a result a gratifying attendance of interested persons came in response to a circular announcement and on October 3, 1832, was organized the first important Teachers' Association in the Middle West. It continued for four years (1832-1836). The transactions of the "College of Teachers," as the association was called, shows that these annual meetings brought together educators from a number of states for the serious discussion of subjects, some of which still claim the attention of educators. Here are a few: "Importance of Making the Business of Teaching a Profession,"

Lyman Beecher, D. D., 1833; "Physical Education," Dr. Daniel Drake, 1833; "Common Schools," Samuel Lewis, 1835; "Qualifications of Teachers," E. D. Mansfield, 1836; "Utility of Cabinets of Natural Science," Joseph Ray, 1836; "Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Teachers," Rev. W. H. McGuffey, 1835.

William Holmes McGuffey contributed three written addresses to the College of Teachers. As a brief sample of his style in his rare written addresses we present the following extracts from his address on

The Reciprocal Relations of the Duties of Parents and Teachers.

The address contains about eight thousand words. The following brief extracts are selected:

We owe it, then, to our pupils, and to their parents, thoroughly to understand what we profess to teach. For who can communicate intelligibly to another that which he himself does not clearly comprehend? That man is a swindler of the worst description, who "procures, upon false pretenses," the intellectual wealth of the community, and submits to, he cares not what, venturous process, for his own paltry and sordid gain. The fraudulent merchant destroys but the fortunes of those whom he plunders. But the incompetent teacher ruins the immortal mind, which is of more value than all temporal riches.

We, then, who are parents, must from the constitution of society, form and sustain the character, intellectual and moral, of those who reside under our roof. The teacher cannot do it without our co-operation. We must lay the foundation; he may help us to build. We must furnish the materials; he may fit and adjust them; but only under our direction and supervision. The teacher may, and will exert an incalculable influence upon the minds of his pupils; and through them on society. But the parents are responsible for a great part even of that—because it will be modified by their

superior, and antecedent influence. The result will be different, and something more than would follow from parental education alone—or else the employment of teachers would be useless. But it never can be much different, in kind or degree, from the general character of that influence, which is exerted by the specific circumstances of the domestic fireside.

We must, as far as practicable, so arrange matters at home, that our children may come into the hand of the schoolmaster, docile, ingenuous, affectionate, intelligent, honorable, magnanimous, rational, conscientious, and pious children.

All I contend for here, is, that the fundamental elements of character cannot be so well, if at all, developed anywhere else, as in the family; nor by any other hand, so appropriately as by that of a parent. Infant piety, youthful ingenuousness, and juvenile honor, are of too delicate a texture, to bear an early transplanting into our public schools—even those which are under the best possible regulations.

We must here, as in other business, superintend at least, the whole concern, or it will not succeed. Let us decide what our children are to learn—procure for them suitable accommodations, books and apparatus—employ, for their benefit, the ablest instructors—and then keep our eye constantly upon them, their progress, and their instruction—encourage them in their despondency—repress their waywardness—show an interest in their studies, or we may be assured they will not. In a word, let us post up, every day, the whole concern, that we may have it under our eye, and let all concerned know that it is so.

Besides, we can hardly hope that our children will be much interested, in those studies, of which they are aware we are ignorant, unless we show sufficient interest to be willing yet to attend to them. If, when they come to us with a difficulty, which they have met with their lesson, we put them off, with a declaration that either we do not understand, or do not care about what they are studying, can we be surprised, or blame them if they show but little farther concern in the matter?

Your speaker has seen the grandfather of eighty years, induced to look into a geography, in order to correct in his

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little grandson, that glaring heresy of modern times, that the earth turns round on its axis, and after pronouncing the assertions of the little philosopher "nonsense"—"silly nonsense," to become interested in the child's artless defense of his book, and finally to take lessons from his pupil, and become a companion of his studies for months together. The results were valuable. They showed that an aged man, in the midst of business engagements, could learn a new science; and that the effects of such a companionship were most salutary upon the mind of the child. That child was my pupil, and far surpassed his classmates, from the time he took his grandfather into partnership in his studies.

Every intelligent teacher will expect success, just in proportion as he can induce parents to take an interest in the business which he conducts, but which they must superintend. Let parents then be the instructors of their own children—employing all the assistance they may need or desire; but never resigning the business into the hands of another.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF EDITORS OF THE MCGUFFEY READERS

His niece, Mrs. Anna McGuffey Morrill has left this testimony in regard to William Holmes McGuffey:

Uncle William was, in build shorter and more compact than my father. He had sandy hair and large irregular features. He showed all his large teeth in his warm smile. He had the same keen, kind, and twinkling eyes that my father had, but in repose both of the brothers' faces wore an expression so serious that you children would have found it stern. I think Uncle William in his general moods looked a little like Hans Christian Anderson. He was like him, too, in his love for children and in his simplicity and unpretentiousness. He had not at all the "grand manner" of my father, was more approachable; in other words more democratic. William was noted for his love of argument whereas Alexander never argued and disliked to be questioned or contradicted.

My father laid down the law and that was the end of it. Once when he had given his opinion on some point in pro-

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nunciation one of his children ventured to tell him that the dictionary held otherwise. "Then the dictionary is wrong," he flashed back and no one argued any further, but we saw the humor of it and among ourselves when any of us was loath to yield a point, someone else would cry, "of course the dictionary is wrong."

Dr. W. M. Thornton, in his memorial address at the dedication of the McGuffey Public School Building at Charlottesville said:

Among my earliest recollections of the University of Virginia is the figure of Dr. William Holmes McGuffey. He was a man so ugly as not to be readily forgotten; a huge mouth, a portentous nose, sandy reddish grey hair, worn so long that it curled up a little above his ears, a vast forehead heightened by baldness, keen eyes that snapped and twinkled at you. His dress was wonderfully neat, but the most old-fashioned I ever saw outside a museum. For his Sunday morning lectures to his class in Bible Studies he would array himself in a dark blue coat with brass buttons, cut somewhat like the evening dress coat of the present day and known from its shape as a "shad-bellied coat." Around his neck was a high linen collar surrounded by a voluminous black silk stock. When Professor Francis H. Smith first saw him he wore knee breeches with black silk stockings and low shoes fastened with shining buckles. In my time he had reconciled himself to trousers, but it seemed to me that this was his only concession to modernity. When that mouth of his broadened into a smile he looked to me like some genial monster. When he scowled even the young devils in his class-room believed and trembled.

From the *Ohio Educational Monthly* of July, 1896:

Only those who had the privilege of more or less intimate acquaintance with Alexander Hamilton McGuffey know what a rare capacity for warm and disinterested friendship existed beneath the surface of this seemingly austere man. His great stature and upright carriage, even when the weight of years pressed heavily upon him, gave him a majestic dignity that

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marked him among men, and many who knew him only by name will miss his stately presence from even the busy region of Fountain Square.—J. Remsen Bishop.

From *The History of the McGuffey Readers*:

Mr. Alexander Hamilton McGuffey was a noteworthy figure in any assemblage of men. He was tall, slender and erect. His manner was urbane and reserved.—Henry H. Vail.

IN CIVIL WAR TIME

Many years ago when the writer was principal of the schools in a small village of Stark County, Ohio, there was a largely attended soldiers' reunion not far from the building in which he taught. The schools were dismissed at noon in honor of the occasion. He found a good position and a comfortable seat near the speakers' stand and heard with much interest a patriotic address from a venerable ex-congressman who had served in the Civil War. There were also short addresses from other Civil War veterans present. One is distinctly recalled. The veteran noted and complimented the attendance of the school children:

"Fortunate you are," he said, "to hear frequently in your schoolroom, from the McGuffey Readers, lessons of patriotism. I noticed when the call came for troops to save the Union, that the boys who could repeat with fervor, 'Give me liberty or give me death,' with Patrick Henry, or 'Liberty and union now and forever, one and inseparable,' with Daniel Webster, were the first to volunteer and follow the flag to the southland. You must never permit those grand old readers to be taken from your schools."

This led me to reflect upon the influence that these readers must have exerted, before the Civil War, upon the young men of the Middle West.

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In later years, when there was a growing interest in the man McGuffey, who gave these Readers to the Middle West and we learned that all through the Civil War this man was a member of the faculty of the University of Virginia, I wondered how these two facts could be reconciled with the spirit of those troublous times. How did it happen, I asked, that this advocate for liberty and union could hold a place in the university of a seceding state through the stormy days of the Civil War when tolerance had ceased to be a virtue?

A partial answer to this question is found in the fact that there were two McGuffeys. One was the compiler of the first four Readers; the other of the Rhetorical Guide, afterward known as the Fifth and Sixth Readers. The manuscript of the monograph, "A Daughter of the McGuffey's," to which reference has already been made and which is before me as I write, throws light upon this subject. I quote from the monograph of Mrs. Anna McGuffey Morrill, the daughter of Alexander H. McGuffey, written in 1921:

My Uncle William was born in 1800, and lived till 1873, when I was twenty-eight years old. But I did not see much of him after I had grown. He became quite Southern in his sympathies after living through the Civil War in Charlottesville, Virginia, and of course my parents were ardent Unionists. Not Abolitionists, however. You must remember that Abolitionists were regarded by polite society much as Bolsheviks are now.

Mrs. Morrill then explains that her great grandfather, Isaac Drake, and her grandfather, Dr. Daniel Drake, had been strongly opposed to the institution of slavery. Again we quote from her:

To go back to Uncle William McGuffey, I do not think that his Southern sympathies led to any estrangement in the family, but I do know that my father told him, when he came north directly after the Civil War, that he must be very care-

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ful what he said. Feeling ran very high during that Reconstruction period. Uncle William was sent by the publishers of the Readers to make a tour all through the South and report on conditions. When he returned he had a shocking story to tell of the "Carpet Baggers," but no Northern paper would print it.

Further evidence of the intense loyalty of the family of Alexander H. McGuffey is found in the record left by Mrs. Morrill. Because of its particular interest with reference to the subject at hand as well as the spirit of the times, we here quote at considerable length:

I was nearly eighteen years old, lacking only four months of my birthday, when in October, 1862, I was told that the medical men had ordered father to leave his work and go abroad. His health, never very robust, had given way and rest he must have. It was what is now called a "nervous breakdown." This meant a very serious crisis in our family life. Mother could not go with him—she must remain with the children. Charley was ruled out, as not the best traveling companion for a sick man, and so the matter was finally settled by my being chosen to go. Of course I went most joyfully.

Our destination was Switzerland. We sailed from New York for LeHavre via Southampton. You can imagine how wonderful it all was to my mid-western eyes. I had never been away from Southern Ohio, and now I had sea and mountains and foreign shores all at once. We went through fields of ice in the North Atlantic and had a rough passage in the English Channel; then a glimpse of Paris, and at last came to Switzerland, where we settled down at Vevey, in a little pension kept by excellent M. et Madame Combe. Here I spent a quiet, happy winter, studying French (all I ever knew of that language I learned then), tramping over the mountains and making excursions on lovely Lake Lemán.

I could tell you about the state of European travel and the primitive steamers and boats and inns, but that has all been described by others. So I will write only of the thing that

made the deepest impression in my mind, and that was the unfriendly attitude of the English people whom we met. I had wanted very much to visit England, but when we did not stop there and I asked father the reason, he had replied, "Wait and see. Before you have returned home, I think you will have discovered the reason!"

You remember that this trip was made when we were in the midst of the Civil War, and no loyal citizen lightly left the United States while we were in the throes of such anguish. Father's brother William was caught by the war in Virginia, and the whole terrible situation had preyed on my father's high-strung mind. I have lived through three of our wars, the Civil War, the Spanish War and the Great War, and I can say without fear of contradiction that none of these wars touched us as did the Civil War. Brothers, cousins, dearest friends would be suddenly called to face slaughtering each other, and such deep animosities were aroused as must always be, when the war is between those who formerly loved each other.

Nothing at home, however, had prepared me for the animosity of the well-to-do British towards the Northern cause. We encountered it constantly among the tourists and learned to give them a wide berth that winter on the Continent. They frankly admitted that they believed it would be to their advantage if, *two*, rather than one American republic existed in North America. I, who was ardently Northern and had always admired "the freedom loving English people," was appalled to find they did not support the righteousness of our position, and that they actually showed hate to Americans who came from the North.

One incident made an unfading impression on my mind. At Hotel Monnet in Vevey, we met a fine-looking Englishman with his three daughters, and I was happy to find companions of my own age. I was invited to go to their rooms to see their collections of gems, cameos and intaglios, ancient and modern. I was greatly interested and enjoying myself until the courtly gentleman began asking me questions about life in America and about the state in which I lived. "I was

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greatly surprised," he remarked suavely, "to meet such a gentleman as your father appears to be, coming from the North. Of course we English know the only real gentlemen come from the South. The men from the North we know to be *mud-sills*."

Oh, horror, what a passion that threw me into. You must know I had just come from home and had lately been singing, "John Brown's Body Lies A-mouldering in the Grave," and "The Union Forever" and "Hang Jeff Davis on a Sour Apple-Tree." To hear sympathy expressed for the South in such a tactless manner was anathema.

I gave him one look, then flew out of the room (I hope I banged the door), ran down to father's room and gave way to my emotion. I felt my country had been outraged by English people, whom I had always thought of as our friends. My father said, "If you cannot control yourself better, keep away from the English, and in this visit to these people, you have the answer to your question, as to why we did not travel through England."

Little Eleanor will surely think her grandmother a Mrs. Methuselah when she learns that I really saw and talked with the great Abraham Lincoln. It was in this wise. Mr. Lincoln, our President-elect, was on his journey from his home in Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, to be inaugurated. The time was thrilling, we knew not whether we were to have war or peace, or if we were to be a country torn apart, half slave, half free. Our nerves were all quivering and every face wore a look of anxiety.

Mr. Lincoln's tour brought him through Cincinnati, and the day and hour was set for a large public reception. It was to be held in the drawing-room of the then fashionable Burnet House. My mother could not induce my father to go with her—he abhorred public functions. So mother asked me to go with her. I was fifteen years old, too young to go to such places, my father thought. But my mother was firm and far-seeing, and she said I should go. How much her decision has meant to me in the years that followed.

We started then for the reception, joining a large number of our friends in the line, and before long we came up before the tall, gaunt, sad-eyed Mr. Lincoln. An usher urged the crowd on, and when mother held Mr. Lincoln's hand, she was told to *pass* on. But she hesitated and looking straight into Abraham Lincoln's eyes, she said, "Mr. President, we look to you to save our country." "Madam," he replied, "with God's help we will." And on we passed. I was deeply thrilled, and I must add, embarrassed by my mother's action, for children do not relish any action on the part of their parents which attracts attention. Foolish children!

Once again I saw Abraham Lincoln—I saw the body but the spirit had fled. This was when after his assassination his body was brought home to Springfield, and the funeral train was stopped in Cincinnati, so the people could once more look on his wonderful old face. The coffin was placed in state in one of our public halls. I, now years older, went alone to look on him. How shall I tell you of it? There he lay serene, all traces of pain and sadness gone, only a look of unutterable peace on his face.

When Alexander Hamilton McGuffey died in his 80th year at his home in Cincinnati June 3, 1896, generous tributes were paid him in many papers. The Cincinnati *Times-Star* in an editorial entitled, "Honor Where Honor Is Due," on June 4, 1896, paid this generous tribute:

The man who more than any other fanned the sentiment of American patriotism into a national flame was Daniel Webster, who in his memorable reply to Hayne closed with the words, "liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" Next to Webster in that patriotic service, though the names were never coupled together, was the late Alexander H. McGuffey of Cincinnati, who put Webster's eloquent peroration into his school "Readers" and set the school children to reciting and declaiming it from Maine to California. The schoolboys who declaimed that sentiment of union "dear to every true American heart" during the decade before the war were the men who shouldered muskets

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in its defense from 1861 to 1865. That the sentiment did not take equally firm root in the South is due, at least in part, to the scarcity of schools and "McGuffey's Readers" in that section during the generation that secession was gaining headway. Webster died as he wished before his eyes should rest on "a land rent with civil feuds, or States dissevered, discordant, belligerent," but McGuffey lived to see them reunited and the "gorgeous ensign of the Republic still full high advanced." All honor to America's greatest orator, but a grateful country should not forget his efficient but more obscure assistant, the compiler of the school "Readers."

Many of the papers gave Alexander Hamilton McGuffey the credit for all of the McGuffey Readers. This, of course, was a claim not fully justified. To William Holmes McGuffey goes the credit for the system and the first four Readers of the series. To Alexander Hamilton McGuffey belongs the credit for the Fifth and Sixth Readers. It is the influence of these later readers that called forth the praise in the above editorial.

No, the hand that gave to young America, through the school Readers, Patrick Henry's "Speech Before the Virginia Convention"; Hayne's speech on "South Carolina" and Daniel Webster's triumphant reply; "Supposed Speech of John Adams"; Webster's "Importance of the Union," to which spirited reference is given in the above editorial, and J. Rodman Drake's "American Flag," could not have consented to serve under a banner dedicated to the destruction of our Republic.

The eloquent defense of the Union, by Webster in January, 1830, aroused the loyal spirit throughout the country, but it would in time have been partially forgotten had not Alexander H. McGuffey put its most brilliant passages into the hands of the youth of America by the million and inspired them to spring to the defense of "the gorgeous ensign of the Republic" when burst upon our country the storm of Civil War.

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More warmly attached to the Old Dominion than to the United States, the author of the first four books of the series of the McGuffey Readers might consent to remain at his post in the University of Virginia through this crisis.

After the close of the Civil War the publishers of the McGuffey Readers asked William Holmes McGuffey to make a visit through the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. This he did and reported the results of his observation to the publishers at Cincinnati. He gave an extended account of demoralization under "carpet bag rule" in the South. Henry H. Vail, editor of the publishing company, who heard the report said of it:

It was such a picture as at the time no Northern paper would have dared to print—it was the truth. For days he held his listeners captive with the story.

It is not reported, as some have written, that he made public addresses on the subject of this tour throughout the South. It is safe to assume that he heeded the advice of his friends and was discreetly silent in public.

MCGUFFEY SOCIETIES

There has grown up in the years subsequent to the Civil War a generation of citizens who had stored in their memory recollections of the McGuffey Reader lessons. Many of them had attended the one-room rural schools. They had heard all the selections in the series read aloud until they were familiar with them. They read the Readers. They heard them read and declaimed. On Friday afternoons they were often permitted to choose lessons to read in concert. "Maud Muller," "Rock Me to Sleep," "Bingen on the Rhine," "The Mariner's Dream," "Burial of Sir John Moore" and "The Soldier's Rest" were among the favorite selections for this purpose. There were the patriotic speeches to

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which reference has already been made. Often the little assembly of pupils in the old schoolroom were held spellbound by some youth who, under the encouragement of the teacher, had found his tongue and could with real eloquence declaim the periods of Webster, or with the spirit of a real actor render the matchless oration of Mark Antony over Cæsar's dead body.

The substance of the choice portions of the Readers had thus found a permanent place in the minds of millions of grown-up Americans. Only a leader was needed to give those memories organized form and prepare the way for a nation-wide interest in the old McGuffey Readers.

On March 23, 1918, the McGuffey Society of Columbus, Ohio, was organized in the county court house of that city. This was the first society of this character in the country, so far as we know. It has attracted remarkable attention. Many eminent persons have written to this organization making inquiry in regard to its work and membership. Colonel Edward S. Wilson was the prime mover in the inauguration of this initial Society. Its purpose according to its articles of incorporation is "to perpetuate the memory and work of Dr. William Holmes McGuffey." Among those who have manifested an interest by writing to the Society is Henry Ford, the great manufacturer, who is enthusiastic in his appreciation of the McGuffey Readers, has at his own expense built up a large collection of them and has republished the series in use when he was attending the public schools. On February 15, 1927, this Society presented to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society a practically complete set of the McGuffey publications, covering the entire period of their publication.

The McGuffey Society of Akron was "organized October 30, 1927, by the students of the McGuffey Readers to honor and commemorate the lives and labors of William Holmes McGuffey and

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Alexander Hamilton McGuffey, editors and authors of the McGuffey Readers, in grateful recognition of their services to the youth of America." One thousand and eighty-one charter members have attached their names to the foregoing declaration. A framed illuminated tablet bearing these names and a beautiful oil painting of Dr. William Holmes McGuffey have been placed by the Akron Society in the Museum and Library Building of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society at Columbus. On October 25, 1930, a large delegation from the Akron McGuffey Society brought this gift to Columbus. A prominent member of this delegation, Hon. Charles Dick, former United States Senator from Ohio, delivered the principal address.

In February, 1925, the McGuffey Club of Indianapolis, Indiana, was organized. It has affiliated societies in Kokomo, Greenwood, South Bend and Lebanon, Indiana. This club publishes the *McGuffeyite*, a monthly, in Indianapolis, Indiana.

A McGuffey Society has been organized at Glade Springs, Virginia. It holds occasional meetings at Charlottesville.

A McGuffey Society at Marietta, Ohio, is one of the earliest organizations, but subsequent to the Columbus Society.

The Gahanna Society at Gahanna, Ohio, near Columbus, was organized soon after the Columbus Society. It holds regular meetings, has an annual banquet and has maintained a very active organization.

At Lisbon, Ohio, the McGuffey Society of Columbiana County has recently been organized. Prof. W. H. Van Fossan, former superintendent of schools and more recently a member of the General Assembly has been active in its organization.

These societies have had much to do with the recently aroused interest in the compilers of the McGuffey Readers, to which the daughter of Alexander Hamilton McGuffey refers with astonishment in the quotation included in the introduction to this sketch.

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Fullerton, Hugh S. "That Guy McGuffey." *The Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 200, pp. 14-15, 54; 57-58; 63-64.

A delightfully entertaining review of the life of William Holmes McGuffey, the McGuffey *Readers* and their great moral, patriotic and literary influence on three generations of Americans; a vivid picture of the rural school in the days of the little one-room red schoolhouse, when the McGuffey *Readers* had reached their greatest popularity—of the Friday afternoons with their rhetorical and readings of selections chosen by the pupils; a contribution that awakens delightful trains of reminiscence in the minds of many who "were brought up" under the influence of the McGuffey *Readers* and still live to bear testimony to those early sources of learning and inspiration. Many others have paid like tributes of gratitude but none have been so widely read and enjoyed. Illustrations from the *Readers* have been reproduced in this contribution, but they are evidently from one of the later revisions.

McGuffey, William H. "Lecture on the Relative Duties of Parents and Teachers." *Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers. Transactions*. Vol. 5, pp. 129-151.

"Remarks on Study of the Classics." *Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers. Transactions*. Vol. 5, pp. 203-205.

"Report on the Most Efficient Methods of Conducting Examinations in Common Schools, High Schools and Academies." *Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers. Transactions*. Vol. 6, pp. 239-243.

Minnich, Harvey C. "William Holmes McGuffey and the Peerless Pioneer McGuffey Readers." *Miami University Bulletin*, series 26, No. 11, June 1, 1928.

In 92 pages Dr. Minnich gives a very complete monograph of his subject. The author is Dean of the Ohio Normal Department of Miami University and is admirably situated for the study of McGuffey, and his work. He is in enthusiastic sympathy with his subject; has succeeded in making a notable collection of the different editions of the McGuffey *Readers*, of McGuffey relics, and has given in satisfactory detail the facts in regard to McGuffey and his works.

His contribution contains many of the illustrations of the early editions of the *Readers*. He states very fully the changes made in the different revisions, sets forth the contribution of different editors in the later revisions, and describes the popularity and the continued and increasing demand for the series through the latter half of the nineteenth century. The illustrations are numerous, especially from the early editions of the *Readers*. Among other pictures is the quaint drawing representing coming on horseback of William Holmes and little Alexander H., then aged ten years, to Miami University.

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Free use has been made of Dr. Minnich's monograph in the foregoing contribution.

Morrill, Anna McGuffey. "A Daughter of the McGuffeys," an autobiographical sketch of the early life of Anna McGuffey Morrill, 1854-1924, daughter of Alexander Hamilton McGuffey, edited by her daughter, Alice Morrill Ruggles. A manuscript monograph of value consisting of seventy-four typewritten pages. From this monograph, as will be seen, somewhat extended quotations have been made in the foregoing contribution. This monograph not only includes materials of first importance on the Lives of William Holmes and Alexander McGuffey but illuminates the history of Cincinnati in war and pioneer times. It will later appear in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*.

Ohio State Library Monthly Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 3, January, 1910. Quotes a short biographical sketch of McGuffey.

"Presentation of McGuffey Readers," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 157-180.

Exercises incidental to the presentation of a large number of McGuffey *Readers*, one of the most complete collections. It included 123 *Readers* and *Primers* and nine *Spellers*.

Tope, Melancthon. *A Biography of William Holmes McGuffey*: comprising an Authentic Account of his Ancestry, Early Experiences, and Life Work; Including A Sketch of His Brother, Alexander H. McGuffey; together with a History of the McGuffey School Books, their origin, Revisions and Merits. Bowerston, Ohio, 1929.

A book of 114 pages containing a wealth of information on the subject, arranged in two Lectures, the first devoted to the Lives of William Holmes and Alexander Hamilton McGuffey and the second to the McGuffey *Readers*.

Vail, Henry H. *A History of the McGuffey Readers*, the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, 1911. This authoritative little book is written by the editor of the *Readers* who states that for half a century he had personal knowledge of the *Readers*: "At first, as a teacher, using them daily in the classroom, but soon, as an editor, directing the literary work of the publishers and owners." This little volume is privately printed.

LIFE OF NOAH WEBSTER

The Webster family was among those early voluntary exiles from England, who in 1835-36 began the settlement of Hartford, Connecticut. It is supposed that the family emigrated from Warwickshire and first settled near Boston, later migrating to Connecticut where the family lived for five generations as farmers and good citizens.

Noah Webster had two brothers and two sisters; his father's name was also Noah. Noah's father was a man of vigorous intellect, but limited education, whose life was spent on a small farm of ninety acres in Connecticut. He was, for many years, a justice of the peace in Hartford, and an officer of the church where he lived.¹

Noah's mother, Mercy, was a descendent of William Bradford, the Plymouth governor, and thus in Noah we find inherited both Pilgrim and Puritan.²

All the Websters were members of a sturdy family. Noah worked on his father's farm until he was fourteen years of age. It is not known what excited his interests in books because he never received any encouragement along intellectual pursuits from his father or mother. Noah's life began³ during the exciting time of the Old French War when battles brought distress and mourning into many of the neighboring families. However, we know little of his early years and passing thoughts.

We have no idea what aroused Noah's interest in a college education but we do know that for a time his father opposed it and

¹ He reached the highest offices which the little village could offer. He was Squire Webster and Deacon Webster.

² Notes on Life of Noah Webster, Vol. I, p. 11, by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel.

³ Noah was born October 16, 1758.

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after discussing the whole problem as a family project the father reluctantly gave his permission. So it was decreed that Noah should begin his classical studies with Rev. Nathan Perkins, successor of Nathaniel Hooker, pastor of the Fourth Church of Hartford. Under his guidance young Webster was fitted to enter Yale College in September, 1774, at the age of sixteen. His summer vacations were spent helping his father on the farm.

The father became interested to a great degree in his son's education. He mortgaged his farm to pay college expenses and would even go on horseback to New Haven to bring his son home for vacations.

In the spring of his freshman year the whole country was stirred by the battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill. The Yale students had been drilling in military manoeuvres for several weeks and on Saturdays, spent several hours building breastworks as practice for themselves. As a just reward they were invited to pay their respects to General Washington and General Lee who had stopped at New Haven on their way to Cambridge.

In 1777, it became almost impossible to secure food for the college and the students were temporarily dismissed. In the summer of that year, classes were stationed in various towns in the interior of the state under their respective instructors. The junior class to which Webster belonged was at Glastonbury with Mr. Joseph Buckminster.

The following winter the senior class of which Webster was a member was ordered back to New Haven and since food was scarce and the college equipment had been moved to safer places, the students held this to be an offense and very few of them obeyed. Webster, like the majority remained at home and due to the patriotic spirit of the college government no one was punished.

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Owing to such turbulent times the commencement exercises were passed over for seven years. In 1778 the students once more assembled under the care of Dr. Stiles who was college president. After the final nomination in July the candidates for the baccalaureate degree were presented to the president in the library with much ceremony. Exercises were held in the college chapel where Webster gave a "Cliosophic Oration" in English. In September the usual time for commencement the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on Webster and his classmates.

We know very little of Webster's early college life except that due to the Revolutionary War it was full of irregularities. It was known to have been full of friendships. The study of Latin and Greek nourished a stirring patriotism of the students. The welfare of the state and nation form the substance of these classics and when the call came to military service many of the students were prepared. The whole college course served as an introduction to literary pursuits or professional activity. The class of 1778 with its forty members is one of the most brilliant that ever graduated at Yale.¹

Webster intended to practice law but to a great extent was retarded by the general condition of the country. In the following winter when he was twenty-one years old he remained at home and taught school in his native parish of West Hartford. In the summer of 1780 he lived with Jedediah Strong, register of deeds in Litchfield, Connecticut, and helped him in the duties of his office. During his leisure time he studied law under the Hon. Titus Hosmer of Middletown, one of the leading lawyers of his day. In 1781 Webster presented himself to the County Court of Litchfield to be examined for admission to the Bar. As it so happened there were twenty other men to be likewise ex-

¹ Among its members was Joel Barlow, poet and American "Embassador" at the Court of St. Cloud.

amined at the same time and to their surprise all were turned down—the reason none of them ever knew. Webster then went to Hartford for examination and with Chauncey Goodrich, who later became Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut, was admitted to practice.

In 1781 Webster received the Master of Arts degree at the first public commencement held at Harvard University in a period of seven years. His part in the requirement for the degree was a dissertation in English on the universal diffusion of literature as introductory to the universal diffusion of Christianity. This selection tended to show the trend of his mind.

As there was no prospect in sight for his law practice he established in July, 1781, a private school at Sharon, Litchfield County, Connecticut. Refugees of Whig principles from New York fled to this town until the dangers of war were over. Among these refugees were the families of Robert Gilbert Livingston and also that of Mrs. Theodosia Prevost, who afterward was married to Aaron Burr. The children of these families became Webster's pupils.

The outline or prospectus of his school was as follows:

"On the first of May will be opened at Sharon, in Connecticut, a school in which children may be instructed not only in the common arts of reading, writing and arithmetic but in any branch of academical literature. The little regard that is paid to the literary improvement of females, even among people of rank and fortune, and the general inattention to the grammatical purity and elegance of our native language are faults in the education of youth, that more gentlemen have taken pains to censure than correct. Any young gentlemen and ladies who wish to acquaint themselves with the English language, geography, vocal music, etc., may be waited upon at particular hours for that purpose. The price of board and tuition will be from six to nine shillings, lawful money, per

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week, according to the age and studies of the scholar; no pains will be spared to render the school useful.

Noah Webster.

Sharon, April 16, 1782.

N. B. The subscriber has a convenient store in Sharon fit for storing articles of any kind where they may be secured at a moderate expense.”¹

While living in Sharon Webster fell in love with one of the pupils of his singing school but due to a former friendship between her and an army officer it was decided by the church elders that he was entitled to take the lady by priority whereupon Webster closed his school and left the town. He felt keenly the loss and disappointment but his studies soon effaced this interest from his mind and in later life he found his Rebecca, a fascinating woman and helpmate.

In 1782 he made several attempts to enter into a business of some kind but without success. In his search for business he went to Goshen in Orange County but after meeting several failures he opened a classical school for pupils of the most respectable families in that neighborhood. Here it was that he was first stimulated toward the subjects which he later made his own.

Had it been such that the world was prosperous and at peace he probably would have opened a law office and we would have lost him as a lexicographer. As it was he began teaching. It was in this vocation that Webster realized the necessity of better elementary text-books and at the same time getting the experience which fitted him for the first of his linguistic works. So in 1782, at twenty-four years of age, he planned to prepare and publish a series of school books that would really aid the children in getting a better education.

¹ Notes on the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. I, p. 42, by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel.

Webster pursued this task with delight and his experience as a teacher proved the discipline he needed for this work. The first work done was the completion of the first draft of his spelling book in the summer of 1782. The second part of his work was the compiling of his grammar; these two books formed two of the three parts of his projected "Grammatical Institute of the English Language" of which the third part was to be a reader. The speller was arranged in logical manner, better than that of any books then in use. This speller proved its value when we learn that fifty million copies were sold. His grammar was not a financial success but it advanced opinions that stand today unquestioned.¹

After Webster had prepared his text-books, the next problem was to print and get them before the people. The country was poor and fighting for its life. The thirteen colonies were independent of each other and consequently could not establish a law whereby Webster's property could be protected. The first work now to be done was to obtain from each of the colonies, legislation that would protect his publications for a reasonable length of time.

Accordingly, late in the year 1782 Webster began his task of gaining protection from the separate colonies.¹ This work required five years of continued effort. His efforts brought him in contact with the most prominent men of his day thus broadening and developing his experiences.

While the New York Legislature was in session at Kingston, a bill was introduced which later became a law. This law sponsored by General Schuyler, protected the author's publication and

¹ Notes on the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. I, p. 51, by Emily Ellsworth Fowler Ford.

¹ It is generally known that Webster was the pioneer of the copyright in this country and also its first promoter. Notes on the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. I, p. 53, Emily Ford.

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was one of the first copyright laws ever known. Other colonies later passed laws similar to that of New York. This it seemed, was necessary because Congress under the Confederation had no power to protect literary property.

In the spring of 1783, Webster left Goshen and returned to Hartford to publish his first elementary book. In this he had many obstacles to overcome. First many people thought it useless and second, many objected to several proposed changes in word pronunciation. Among all of Webster's friends, only two, John Trumbull and Joel Barlow, encouraged him.

Besides all these discouragements, he had no financial means of paying the expenses of publication and no publisher would do the work at his own risk. Finally, with a little aid from Mr. Barlow, he contracted with *Hudson and Goodwin* to print an edition of what was later called *The American Spelling Book*. The preface of this speller is somewhat elaborate. It is written in the style of that day. He points out definitely the imperfections of Dilworth's *Spelling Book*, which had been used for nearly fifty years and of which ten thousand copies were printed annually.

Noah Webster's speller was completed at a fortunate time for itself, its author, and all who used it. It came just at the close of the Revolutionary War and our country with an honorable peace after the long conflict, was full of hope. Many common schools which had been of necessity, closed or neglected, were restored and the demand for good books was such as never had before existed. The speller, from its first appearance had a large circulation. However, there were prejudices against the author, and dishonest use was made of his labor by many a plagiarist, but the proceeds of this "little fifteen penny manual" were much larger than those realized from many larger undertakings. Had it not been for the profits of his speller, Webster would never have been able to prepare the *American Dictionary*.

Webster's mental activity and exertion soon caused him to participate in political matters. As early as 1783, he had been impressed with the weakness of the Confederation and was one of the first to propose a change involving a stronger and centralized Federal government. He had witnessed the unfortunate attitude of Connecticut toward the recommendations of the Confederation in respect to rewarding soldiers of the Continental army. He had seen the tendency toward separation of the states from Congress which would reduce each state to an independent power recognized diplomatically by no nation. Webster published in 1785 his opinions in his *Sketches of American Policy*. These sketches were commended by Madison and were republished in the *Maryland Gazette* December, 1785 and January, 1786, influencing the Annapolis convention and strengthening the movement for a Federal government with adequate power.

In January, 1785, Webster continued his political debates in a series of papers on the claims of Connecticut to the lands west of the Delaware River, yet political writing at this period of his life was only secondary to the educational work he had set out to do. With this in mind, he started in May, 1785, on a journey to the Middle and Southern states to persuade them to pass laws protecting authors of books and other publications.

During his absence of thirteen months he discovered a means of support. When arriving in South Carolina he found that the Legislature had closed its session so he returned to Baltimore and wrote a series of lectures on the English language. These he read in Wilmington, Philadelphia and other cities.¹ His work was successful in as much as it drew public attention to the writer and aroused some enthusiasm in the subjects of his interest. He had some disappointments and criticisms however,

¹Afterward revised and published in 1789 as *Dissertations on the English Language*.

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but he made many social acquaintances and obtained a more intimate knowledge of different parts of the country. He traveled, as his diary shows, on horseback, boat and "stage coach."¹

In 1786, just after meeting Dr. Benjamin Franklin who had recently returned from service in France, Webster obtained permission from him to read his lectures in the Academy building in Philadelphia. He also gave a lecture in University Hall² for the benefit of the Pennsylvania Hospital. Webster was considered a reformer. He was positive, self-assertive and enthusiastic. Such men as Colonel Timothy Pickering, first Postmaster General of the United States and McMaster, the historian, praise and ridicule but make fair criticisms of his excellences as well as his defects.

In November, 1785, on his way to Richmond, Virginia, he passed a night at Mount Vernon and Webster and Washington spent several hours discussing educational institutions and education in general. At Webster's departure, Washington gave him a letter of introduction to Governor Harrison of Virginia and to others of influence. Webster went to Richmond to be present at the session of the Legislature. At this session, he used his influence along with that of Mr. Madison to have commissioners of Virginia meet in Annapolis with other commissioners of the other states for the purpose of forming a better plan of government regulation of commerce and taxation. This Annapolis Convention provided for another convention to be held in Philadelphia where the new and effective plan of government, known as the Federal Constitution, was proposed.

Webster, later went to New York, and during his short visit there he numbered the houses, registered temperatures, consulted

¹ His saddle bags are preserved in the Museum of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Connecticut.

² Notes on the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. I, p. 101, by Emily Ford.

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church records, examined town lists of voters, and registered births and deaths, thus predicting in a minor way the census and weather bureau. This was only another of his activities and was among the first attempts at any census undertaking in the country.

In the autumn of 1786, Benjamin Franklin invited Noah Webster to come to Philadelphia for the purpose of improving pronunciation and reforming the English alphabet. Dr. Franklin had, several years before, devised a plan for a new alphabet and had secured types for printing his new characters. He discovered in Webster a man also interested in the same thing. Franklin's old time interest revived and he transferred his types and all other material to a younger man. Webster was not at first prepared to take up the plan of revision proposed by Dr. Franklin but he was by no means discouraged. The new alphabet which was finally developed used the Roman alphabet of twenty-six letters to represent the Anglo-Saxon tongue and any deficiencies were supplied by the use of diagraphs and combinations.

Mr. Webster remained in Philadelphia one year and in April 1787 accepted for six months, the position as instructor first in the Mathematics department, and later in the English department of the Episcopal Academy. During this year he published the third edition of his "Grammar" and the seventh of his Spelling Book, as well as writing short essays on political topics.

During the summer of 1787, while Webster was teaching in the Episcopal Academy, the Convention of delegates from the various states met in Philadelphia for the purpose of revising the Confederation. Washington was elected to preside over the proceedings of the convention and on September 17th, finished its work and presented to the United States what is now known as the Federal Constitution. Webster was asked to defend the new constitution in case there would be any serious objections.

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In just a month after the convention adjourned, Webster prepared a paper inscribed to Dr. Franklin entitled "An Examination of the Leading Principles of the Federal Constitution proposed by the late Convention held at Philadelphia, with answers to the principle objections that may have been raised against the system. By a citizen of America."

Later, while in New York, Webster was asked by the arrangement committee to write a minute account of the celebration in the city over the ratification of the Federal Constitution by nine of the thirteen states.¹ It was hoped that this account would influence the entire state as a large number of delegates were anti-Federal. While writing his account to be published in the *Daily Advertiser*, August 2, 1788, news came that the State of New York had agreed to join the Union under the Federal Constitution.

During his residence in New York, Webster organized a Philological Society, the first of its kind in America. Meetings were frequent for a time but it is not known whether the society continued its work after Webster left New York. It is of interest to note that most of Webster's enterprises were not financially successful and since he was seriously thinking of getting married, began to seek more lucrative activities. With this in view, he returned in May, 1789, to Hartford to live with his friend John Trumbull and resume his interrupted legal practice. Having determined to make law his profession, no city in the United States could have offered him better opportunities. It was his birth place, the home of his relatives, the home of many distinguished men and the home of literary tastes and habits. With such people around him, Webster felt much at home. He found little time for business. His diary shows records of many

Notes on the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. I, p. 183, by Emily Ford.

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social activities. Among them was his marriage to Rebecca Greenleaf, October 26, 1789.¹

Webster and his bride went to Hartford after the wedding and soon were entertaining their many friends. He supported his family very well, assisted his aged father, bought a farm for his brother, educated a nephew, Nelson Webster, and invested money in his new publishing house in New York. He was very efficient at law. He was government prosecutor for mail robberies; he represented Connecticut in her claims against Pennsylvania; he also had legal business given him by his brother-in-law, Judge Dawes and by James Greenleaf's firm, as well as by Charles Webster of Albany. The sale of his books also added to his income.

In 1790 Webster began a series of experiments concerning dew. He continued them through a number of years and while he claimed nothing as a scientist, he published the results in the *Connecticut Academy of Science*.

On the 22nd of October, 1790, Webster was admitted attorney and counsellor of law in the Supreme Court of the United States at the circuit court in Hartford, Chief-Justice Jay presiding.

During 1790 and 1791, he wrote many essays on political, economic and literary topics. He published many anonymous articles in the *Connecticut Courant*. These articles were a series of short and pointed essays under the signature of *The Prompter*. His purpose was to satirize and ridicule peculiarities of the time or prevailing vices and to speak on the subjects relating to domestic economy in a manner that might attract the attention of the middle or lower classes. He very successfully imitated the style of Dr. Franklin in his *Poor Richard*, using short pointed sentences and familiar illustrations. The effect was such that *The Prompter*

¹ Diary as found in the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. I, p. 246, by Emily Ford.

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was read and quoted everywhere. No one, not even his family, suspected Webster to be the author who was amusing the people from week to week. Another of his labors was the abridgement of his grammar to be used in the primary schools. It was known as *The Little Reader's Assistant*. In the introduction of this book was an explanation of the constitution of the United States and of the principles of commerce and government. This was undoubtedly the first attempt to introduce this kind of instruction into the common schools. This book was highly praised in some sections and decried in others. The sale of the book was, however, temporary. The same year he wrote anonymously an edition of Governor Winthrop's *Journal* which was a history of New England between 1630 and 1644. This history he felt should be published and so at his own expense he published it, but the subscriptions hardly covered the cost.

About this time, March 1791, Webster published a carefully prepared *Essay on the Utility of Banks*. This was a much discussed question in Hartford, as there were at that time no banks in the State.¹

Webster was a strong federalist and a warm supporter of the administration. He was not friendly to the French minister and a personal encounter with Genet did not increase his respect for him.

Tradition says that several Federalists induced Webster to publish a good Federalist newspaper. Breaking all his Hartford ties, giving up his law library, his profession and his home, he went to New York to use his pen in defeating the enemies of the country. Webster was a born journalist and patriot by conviction.

On the 9th of December, 1793, Webster issued the first number of his paper which was called the *Minerva*. It was the

¹ At this time, March 4, 1791, the first bank in the State, the Hartford Bank, was started.

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friend of the government, freedom and improvement. With the *Minerva* was issued a semi-weekly paper called the *Herald*, the first ever made up and published without recompense.

From his limited means the entire management of these two papers for two years fell on Webster alone. He had no clerk to keep accounts nor even an assistant reporter. Webster furnished a very large amount of the editorial remarks, political essays and translated French newspapers in order to give news of the European war. Twice he became ill from exhaustion but each time revived and toiled until 1796 when his profits enabled him to hire two assistants. Besides Webster's daily work he published in 1794 a paper describing the French Revolution and predicted the results that followed. It was probably his philosophy which helped to cure the American people of their foolish sentimentality for France.¹

In April, 1798, Webster removed to New Haven. His New York newspapers were well enough established to support him and his family. At this time he was forty years of age, tall, slender, with keen gray eyes and sharply cut features. Webster moved into the Benedict Arnold house on the shore of New Haven harbor. Soon after moving to New Haven, Webster placed his daughters in the best day school in the community, taught by Miss Eunice Hall where they learned to read, write, spell, cipher and sew. We would classify Miss Hall, however, as a teacher of mediocre mentality from an instance which occurred on June 16, 1806. Webster's children having learned from their parents several days before of an eclipse of the sun carried pieces of smoked glass to school prepared to view the wonder. Miss Hall took the smoked pieces of glass and with one of them viewed the eclipse. In a few seconds she took away the

¹ Notes on the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. I, p. 381, Emily Ford.

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glass saying, "Oh, I would not have you see it for the world"—probably out of superstition. Webster was so displeased that he withdrew his children from the school saying the teacher was too ignorant to instruct children.

While Webster lived in New Haven he still wrote at times for the Herald and Minerva, although his relations to them were neither binding nor responsible.

During the last years of the eighteenth century, yellow fever made its appearance in New England. It caused great arguments among medical men as to its cause and Webster soon entered the controversy. He wrote and published twenty-five letters on the subject in which he held the opinion that the disease was of foreign origin. His investigations took him to the libraries of New York, Yale and Harvard Colleges and to the Logan library in Philadelphia. These results were published in a *History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases*. Some of his conclusions seem to be verified during the prevalence of Asiatic cholera in 1832.

It was at the end of five years that Webster disposed of his interests in the journals and devoted himself to literary work. He rose always in his journalistic writing, from facts to principles. He always took a broad historical view of statesmen, studying society and men in their historic connections. Therefore, he reduced the facts of history to modern experience and made his studies illustrate the age in which he lived.

Noah Webster lived for ideas. Money making beyond the comfortable support of his family was far from his plans. From now on he devoted a large part of his life to philological pursuits. In order to pursue his interests Webster united with Dr. Dwight and other distinguished men in establishing the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences for which he obtained a charter in 1799. One of the first papers read before the Academy was

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an elaborate dissertation by Webster, "On the Supposed Change in the Temperature of Winter." In May, 1804, Webster offered to the Academy and to the Missionary Society of Connecticut an annual gift from the sales of *The American Spelling Book*, *The American Selection and Elements of Useful Knowledge*.

Noah Webster was a man who was active in local civic affairs. He was active in obtaining a water supply for New Haven. He was influential in having New Haven people set out trees to beautify the city. His own share of this work still lives in some of the elms on Temple Street.

In 1806 Webster published a *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language*. He considered this book a preliminary to a larger one yet it contained many words not found in any similar work. Besides being a manual of language it was intended to be an encyclopedia for every day use and was of great help in those days when books and papers were few.

Webster had been studying words for many years with the intention of improving the language.¹ He at this time, had not gone farther back than the Hebrew. Later he included Arabic in his research but never was able to do any work in Sanscrit.

After his publication of his first dictionary, Webster became anxious to publish a larger and more complete work. In 1807 he began to inquire into the feasibility of obtaining subscriptions for a number of years which would enable him to devote his entire time to philological studies without neglecting his family. A few people responded very generously to this plan but slight encouragement was offered. Even his old college friends did not respond with enthusiasm.

In 1807 Webster published *A Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language*. This was an original piece of

¹He was wrong in intending to improve the language. No wise dictionary maker tries to improve—only to record.

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work and required many years of diligent labor. He endeavored to correct the common errors of grammar. There were, however, only a few philological students on either side of the Atlantic and the opposition was that of usage and habit. It contains much valuable material found in no other work of its kind and is regarded as the most truly philosophic grammar of the English language ever published in America.

While writing and publishing books and papers Webster was undergoing experiences that affected his later life. His religious opinions were changing. He left college as an independent thinker of religious creeds but later we find from his diary the doubting spirit breaking out. His morality was of the highest type; he was honest, truthful and fair but he had little religious conviction.

In the winter of 1807, Rev. Moses Stuart, pastor of the first Congregational Church of New Haven, a man well educated and of great imagination, held a revival meeting, as it was then called. Webster's daughters were greatly impressed with a new sense of their relations to God and therefore went to their father for advice. Through interest for his daughters, Webster spent several weeks reviewing his former opinions but as he proceeded in his studies, finally accepted the doctrine of atonement. Immediately he called his family together and told them of his new convictions saying that there had been one form of leadership that he had neglected and that was the family prayer. From that moment until his death he continued the practice of having daily prayers with his family.

Webster still had in mind the thought of his larger dictionary. Ill success in obtaining general subscriptions toward the work almost caused him to lose interest. In explaining his inability to obtain subscriptions it might be said that one objection was his open identification with the Calvinists. Theological differences

aroused prejudice against Webster's works. His religious essay in *The Panoplist* had seemed to align the weight of talent among the Massachusetts Unitarians in opposition to his philological labors as a consequence of his pronounced Calvinism.

For us it is difficult to realize the bitterness of the old religious controversies because in those days differences in creed destroyed friendships through friction. The *odium* theologian is a deadly hate and disguised under a conscientious duty, assailed Webster's philological works. To these attacks Webster replied as "*A Calvinist*" under the title of "A word to an old-fashioned churchman." The following paragraph is a declaration of Webster's mood:

"* * * Is this a sample of the love and charity which Christ and his apostles uniformly inculcated? Even admitting that one denomination could throw an odium on another would this subserve the cause of religion?

"If there ever was a time when the citizens of a country ought to live in harmony on religious subjects this is peculiarly that time. * * *

"* * * Duty to our country, ourselves, and to posterity calls upon us in imperious language to frown upon every attempt to foster prejudice and excite dissensions among our fellow citizens."

During these distractions, civic, social and political, Webster made little progress on his dictionary. His large family meant increasing expense and his earning capacity was hindered while pursuing his work, therefore, he deemed it necessary to move to a smaller locality. After making inquiry, Amherst was chosen as his future home to which he moved in September, 1812.

Amherst was about eight miles from Northampton, the county seat. In this locality there lived a number of wealthy and educated people who soon after Webster's arrival organized and

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founded Amherst College as a charitable institution in the interests of philanthropy and religion.

Here it was that Webster purchased a large double house and continued his work on his greater dictionary. While thus occupied he found time to take a leading part in church affairs, social and political discussions and to serve as selectman of the town. His interest in Amherst Academy was so great that he proposed to give promising young men an opportunity to obtain a liberal education with the view to the Christian ministry. This was the germ of Amherst College.

On September 10, 1818, a convention was called by Webster, President of the Board of Trustees of the Academy, for the purpose of establishing a charitable institution. His labors in this direction kept him from his lexicographer's table for some time. He gave several years of faithful service in the interests of the college. He assisted with his pen, his voice, his influence, and his judgment until the raising of funds was assured.

Webster gave the address at the laying of the cornerstone of Amherst College on August 9, 1820, as Vice President of the Board of Trustees of Amherst Academy and at the close of the exercises, Dr. Parsons having resigned, he was elected President of the Board.

From this time on Webster gave his entire attention to the dictionary and had it not been for the sales of his spelling book his income would have been small indeed. His work was difficult and it is doubtful whether he would have succeeded had he not been encouraged occasionally. One of his staunch supporters both in money and encouragement was John Jay who had been continuously generous. As his dictionary neared completion his thoughts turned again to New Haven as a place for a home. His family was less expensive and his spelling book was becoming more remunerative. He was now planning to visit Europe where

he could consult authorities concerning his publication. He wished to bring his family nearer communication and for these reasons he removed to New Haven in 1822.

Webster having exhausted the resources of all the American libraries of those days resolved to study for a while in the larger libraries in France and England. Accordingly on June 15, 1824, he with his only son William, aged 22 years, sailed for Europe.¹ Here he remained until his dictionary was completed. Two months were spent in Paris where he consulted rare works on language and other topics in the *Bibliothèque un Roi* and eight months were spent in England where he finished the dictionary in January, 1825.

Webster went to England to learn the real pronunciation of the language in that country as well as the state of its philology. He also attempted to bring about some agreement of opinions in regard to unsettled points in pronunciation and grammatical construction. In some he was successful; in others he was not.

It is interesting to know that Webster did the entire work with all the authorities, quotations and passages cited to illustrate the meaning of words. All was written in his own hand. He never had the help of an amanuensis except in the proofreading of his dictionary and again when he revised it.

After Webster's return to New Haven he resumed a scholar's life with greater freedom from interruptions. One of his first acts on returning to America was to induce congress to pass a new copyright law¹ giving an extension to the rights of American authors. Thus after forty years he was again at his first legislative task.

Upon the accomplishment of this task arrangements were made for the publication of the American Dictionary in two volumes of more than a thousand pages each. The first edition consisted

¹ This voyage required 25 days.

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of twenty-five hundred copies and was completed in November, 1828.

This edition was followed by the publication of three thousand copies in London under the guidance of E. H. Barker, editor of the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*.² This author was in sympathy with Webster and far ahead of the majority of British scholars.

Some idea may be formed of the labor involved in writing this dictionary. The first edition contained twelve thousand words and nearly forty thousand definitions which were not found in any other preceding work.

During his last years he took no active interest in politics but remained an ardent Federalist to the end of his life. His newspaper letters were frequent and strong in Federal opinions. With the revision of his dictionary during his latter years and published in two volumes in 1841, Webster at eighty years considered his life's work done. After a few months, however, he began to rewrite his *History of the United States for Schools*. In 1843 he published *A Collection of Papers on Political, Literary and Moral Subjects*, selected from his various writings in early life. This was the last volume which he sent to the press just sixty years from the beginning of his literary works in 1783.

(In May, Webster and his wife celebrated their golden wedding.)

In the spring of 1843 Webster, with the aid of his son, revised an Appendix to his dictionary. This was his last work. Early in May, 1843, he contracted a severe cold which ended in pleurisy. This terminated his life on the twenty-eighth of the month in his eighty-fifth year.

In all of Webster's early writings it seemed that he could anticipate the needs of the future. In his efforts to obtain a copy-

¹ Webster finally succeeded in having this law made in 1830.

² Notes on the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. 2, p. 305, Emily Ford.

right law, in his educational and scientific studies, in his medical researches, in his anti-slavery convictions, in his premiums and prizes for scholarship and in his investigations into language, he was always ahead of his age. In philology, he was the pioneer in Europe as well as in America. All his discoveries were published in cheap school books for the education of the young. At times he was inconsistent with himself but was always ready to correct anything he found to be erroneous. His simplification of spelling has been adopted in America and Europe.

Webster possessed perseverance in an extraordinary degree. He was charged with being conceited but so it is with many who succeed. People jeered at him as they did at Franklin with whom he had many traits in common. He had the highest aim, both political and educational, for his country and he believed that the youth should be taught correctly or the country would not fulfill its destiny. He lacked the arts of a diplomat and often his determined statements aroused censure and opposition.

His industry was equaled by his generosity. As a husband and father or friend and citizen his activities were enormous. He achieved enormous labors and once when accomplished, left them behind. He toiled single handed for forty-three years studying language and for twenty-eight years at making the dictionary and never used an amanuensis until he was eighty years old when his eyesight began to fail him.

At all periods Webster's private interests were merged in public affairs. For nine sessions, 1800-1807, he was a member of the General Assembly; a councilman of New Haven, 1799-1804; alderman, 1806-1809; and Judge of the County Court from 1806 to 1810. In Massachusetts he was a member of the General

¹ Notes on the Life of Noah Webster, Vol. II, p. 361, Emily Ellsworth Fowler Ford.

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Court in 1814, 1815 and 1817.¹ While in Amherst he served as a selectman of the town.

After Webster completed his dictionary he was very active in the cause of education in Connecticut. He presided at Teachers' Conventions held in Hartford and other cities. He was a friend of the teacher and an active member of the Society for the Improvement of Common Schools. He was a warm friend and correspondent with Henry Barnard, LL. D., Superintendent of Schools of Connecticut. He wrote with energy; his memory was clear and precise; his influence was for the best.

¹ Yale Biographica, F. B. Dexter.

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THOMAS WADLEIGH HARVEY

(1821-1892)

"Among the learned professions, that of the teacher has but recently found for itself a place. But a few years ago, and the church and law and medicine occupied the only recognized highways leading to scholastic fame. Through them, and through them alone, was it possible for the young aspirant, thirsting for knowledge and its ultimate rewards, to realize the bright dreams of his ambition.

"But 'the world moves,' and conditions change. Today there are other workers in iron beside the smith at his forge, and other workers of wood than the carpenter, with his saw and his plane. The field of mechanical labor has widened, * * * the world has been the gainer. * * *

"What is true of the department of mechanical labor is also true of other fields of human activity, and especially true of the profession of teaching. From obscurity it has rapidly risen to prominence. Whereas but a few years since, the workers were few and unskilled, now they are many, and form an organized body of devoted laborers, everywhere recognized as belonging to a *profession* which honors them, and which many of them honor. In this important department of human activity are now employed much of the best brain and broadest culture of our land. How fitting that in the teacher we should find the highest order of talent; that he should be a man of thought and learning, eminent for scholarly attainments, and of unimpeachable character! For enlightenment and integrity both look to him more than to any other for encouragement, for life, and for future growth.

"We of today should feel grateful that we live at a time when the educator has become an acknowledged force in this country. The soldier and statesman, the lawyer and jurist, the priest and bishop, with men skilled in physic, have been always, but the press and the public school are of today and

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the future. Each department has an important work to perform, but to the successful educator more than to any one of the others must society look for the realization of its best and brightest hopes." ¹

The quotation is from the *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio*. The writer was probably Judge A. G. Riddle. The article was inspired by the educational accomplishments of Dr. Harvey up to the time that Painesville recalled him to be again the superintendent of their schools when his term as State Commissioner of Common Schools had expired.

Although Thomas Wadleigh Harvey, was one of the most outstanding characters in the development of the Ohio public school system for more than a third of a century, his name is not to be found in either the *International* or the *Brittanica*. Data concerning his life and his work are very meager, except for the years that he served the state in Columbus, so it is impossible to sketch certain periods of his life with anything of the fullness that is due him, yet this chapter will endeavor to pass on something of the greatness of this far-seeing, hard-working, kind-hearted educational pioneer.

Mr. Harvey was a New Englander, as he was born in New London, New Hampshire, on November 18, 1821. When Thomas was about twelve years old, his father, Judge Moses S. Harvey, moved the family to a farm that he bought in the northeastern corner of Concord Township, Lake County, Ohio. From the same history we learn that

"Here young Thomas lived for the next four years, with pretty much the same experiences, no doubt, as were common to other farmer-lads of that day. But the sullen routine of farm-work was not congenial to his tastes. He could and did perform the endless variety of farm duties after a fashion, such as wood-chopping and brush-gathering, fence-

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building, corn-hoeing and husking, grass-mowing, and hay-hauling, potato-digging, cow-driving, milking, and churning, and pig-feeding, but his heart was not in his work.”²

E. F. Moulton, Superintendent of Schools in Cleveland, and a very close friend of Dr. Harvey’s, has to say of this period:

“Laboring on the farm in summer and attending the district school during the winter months, he laid the foundation of a strong physical constitution and of mental and moral growth, upon which he developed the complete and symmetrical man.”³

He still owned the farm at the time of his death. According to Superintendent Moulton he kept this farm in his possession because of the many associations connected with it.

In 1836, when he was fifteen years old, he left the farm and went to Painesville, entering the printing office of Horace Steele, publisher of the *Republican*, as an apprentice. Here he remained for six years, two years as an apprentice, and four years as a regular workman. The *Republican* published its first issue about the time that Harvey began his apprenticeship. He left the printing office shortly after the shop changed hands and the publication of the newspaper was stopped.

The years in the printing office were a great experience for the young man. Up to the time that he went to Painesville he had had very little schooling. The only time that had been available for schooling was the limited time that he could be spared from the farm during the winter months. This had never amounted to more than three or four months in any one year. His work in the office showed him very clearly that he must secure a better education. To this end his leisure hours were spent in reading and study. For a time he was his own instructor, but as he earned and saved he employed a tutor for a period of approximately two years. These six years were hard work, but they

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started him on the road to an education and gave him an intimate knowledge of writing and composing that were to prove of great value to him in later years.

In 1841 he secured a teacher's certificate and taught his first school. According to Franklin H. Kendall, the husband of Sarah N. Harvey, the only surviving daughter of Dr. Harvey, this first certificate and the first contract to teach were kept on the wall of his library. The contract stipulated that he was to teach six days a week for fourteen dollars a month.

In the *History of Geauga and Lake Counties, Ohio*, before mentioned, it is stated that young Harvey spent brief portions of 1842, 1843, and 1844 in the Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary at Kirtland.⁴ According to Superintendent Moulton's account in the *Educational History of Ohio*, he entered the Seminary in 1845.⁵

The Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary at Kirtland was one of the most important educational factors of this part of the country. This school had been started in September, 1838, by the Rev. Nelson Slater, in the Temple built by the Mormons and vacated by them at the time of their western hegira. Dr. Asa Dearborn Lord became principal of the Seminary in 1839 and continued in that capacity until 1847. Superintendent Moulton characterizes the work of Dr. Lord as follows:

"Here his zeal, his energy, his professional enthusiasm, were signally displayed. He made the seminary a center to which the youth of both sexes crowded from the adjoining counties. * * * Here, in 1843, was held the first teachers' institute in the state of Ohio."⁶

In 1847 Dr. Lord went to Columbus as the first city superintendent of schools in Ohio and immediately set to work to grade the schools and bring them up to the standard he had in mind. This is the man under whose influence Harvey came at the time when

he was thoroughly dissatisfied with his own accomplishments and was eagerly seeking for direction. The particular affection for Dr. Lord and for the things for which Dr. Lord stood was one of the strongest influences in his life. His feeling toward this great early leader is very eloquently set forth in Mr. Harvey's "Sketch of the Life and Labor of Dr. Asa D. Lord."⁷

Soon after leaving the Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary Mr. Harvey established the Geauga High School (or Academy) at Chardon. He remained here as principal for three years. In 1848 he was called to Republic, in Seneca County, to become principal of an academy at this place. Here he also remained for three years.

In 1849, the year after he went to Republic, he married Miss Louisa O. Beebe, a student in Willoughby Seminary. To them six children were born: Milicent, Thomas A., Mary B., Louise E., Annie S., and Sarah N. The last-named daughter, now Mrs. Franklin H. Kendall, is the only one surviving. A grandson, Albert Sargent Harvey, son of Thomas A. Harvey, lives in Saginaw, Michigan. He is President of the United States Graphite Company. Mr. and Mrs. Kendall live in the old Harvey homestead at 143 Mentor Avenue, Painesville, Ohio, and have preserved the place very much as he left it.

Mr. Harvey worked very hard at both Chardon and Republic to put into practice the educational theories that he had received from Dr. Lord and those that he had developed for himself. He was very rapidly acquiring a reputation as a well-qualified and successful instructor and school administrator. As a result, he was called to Massillon, Ohio, as Superintendent of Schools, in 1851.

On February 8, 1847, the General Assembly of the State of Ohio passed the so-called Akron School Law. By this law the electors of Akron were authorized to elect six directors who were

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to have entire management and control of all the common schools in Akron. The whole town was to constitute a single school district. Six or more primary schools were to be established in which the rudiments of an English education were to be taught. One central grammar school was also to be established. In this higher school were to be taught the various studies and parts of studies not provided for in the primary school, but which were considered requisite to a respectable English education. These schools were to be free to all the children within the district, and were also to be open, upon the payment of a fee, to children outside the district. The act gave the same authority to the Managers of the Common Schools of Dayton, Ohio. By an act of February 14, 1848, any incorporated town or city was allowed the same privilege upon a petition from two-thirds of the qualified voters.⁸

Under this law boards of education had permission to grade the schools and to hire a superintendent. The Akron Law had been made possible by the efforts of Rev. I. Jennings, pastor of the Congregational Church in Akron, who for months and months had kept the benefits of such a school system persistently before the people of Akron. The credit for the law goes to Akron, although Cleveland, Cincinnati, and some other cities had partially graded their schools earlier than this date.

Mr. Harvey had been prominent in securing the passage of the Akron Law, and this was undoubtedly one of the reasons why he was called to Massillon. From this date until the end of his career he was always in the forefront of those who were pushing legislation on constructive educational measures.

When Mr. Harvey went to Massillon, public schools in Ohio existed only in name. There was scarcely any attempt at the classification and grading of pupils. High schools were almost unheard of. There was very little state supervision of any sort.

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Teachers generally were very poorly qualified and equally poorly paid. In 1848 the Superintendent of Schools in Akron had received \$500; the Superintendent of Schools in Columbus, \$800. Women teachers in Cleveland had received from two to five dollars per week; in Columbus primary teachers had received \$160 per year, and secondary teachers, \$200 per year. The levy for school purposes had been four-fifths of a mill in Columbus and two mills in both Akron and Cincinnati.⁹ The profession had practically no standing. Few ambitious men were content to continue teaching any longer than during the period necessary to gain sufficient training to enable them to get into some other profession.

It is almost impossible for any one today to visualize the difficulties under which superintendents labored in these early days. The proper classification and grading of pupils without any of the present-day instruments for such work was simply a Herculean task. Mr. Harvey believed thoroughly in the measure that he had helped to push through the legislature, so he set to work to grade the Massillon schools. After the grading had been accomplished, he worked out and established a course of study for this newly-graded system. During the fourteen years that he remained in Massillon he carried on this work in such a masterful manner that when he left the city he had created in the minds of the people a decidedly healthful opinion toward what were then the most progressive educational ideas of the time.

E. E. White, at that time editor of the *Ohio Educational Monthly*, has the following to say about a visit to Massillon:

"The Massillon Union School was organized by the lamented Lorin Andrews, who for several years was its Superintendent. When he resigned in 1851, to act as agent for the State Teachers' Association, T. W. Harvey was elected his successor, in which position he has remained ever

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since. It is unnecessary after stating the above facts to say that the youth of Massillon enjoy good school advantages. The school building is situated in a beautiful grove which affords one of the finest sites we have seen in the West. * * * A glance inside was sufficient evidence that we have made some progress during these years in planning school buildings as well as in organizing schools." ¹⁰

His success with the Massillon schools and his growing reputation as an educator caused him to be called by the Board of Education at Painesville to become superintendent of their schools. He could not resist this call from the city in which he had spent his young manhood, so he became Superintendent of Schools in Painesville in 1865. The proper organization, or rather reorganization of schools, was not an easy task in the years following the war, but Mr. Harvey carried through his program there with the same good common sense, tact, and success that he had had in Massillon. He remained in this position until he was called to Columbus in 1871.

Mr. Harvey very soon found himself drawn into the educational affairs of the state. The leading school men of Ohio had long felt the desirability of a state association to serve as a clearing house for ideas and the correlation of practices. In December, 1846, Dr. Asa D. Lord, editor of the *Ohio School Journal*, inserted in that periodical a strong appeal for the formation of such an association. He followed this in the issue of November, 1847, with a second appeal, urging this time that the organization be formed within the year.

At teachers' institutes held in Ashland, Chardon, and Akron, in October and November, 1847, a committee was appointed to study the advisability of such action. This committee was composed of M. F. Cowdery of Lake County, Lorin Andrews of Ashland County, A. D. Lord of Franklin County, W. Bowen of

Stark County, Josiah Hurty of Richland County, Thos. W. Harvey of Geauga County, A. H. Bailey of Ashtabula County, M. D. Leggett of Summit County, and J. Sloan of Knox County. This committee sent out a call for such a meeting to be held in Akron on December 30-31, 1847. Delegates met at the appointed time and organized the Ohio Teachers' Association. M. F. Cowdery was the first chairman. Thomas W. Harvey was elected as recording secretary.

Three things were to be attempted at once. On account of the nature of these duties, it fell to the lot of Mr. Harvey, as secretary, to take the initiative. The first task was to record the names of those teachers in the state who expected to teach three years or more. All of the teachers who were sufficiently prepared to teach in union schools were to be registered. The third task was to prepare the way for petitioning the legislature for some local taxation measure whereby the amount of money then received from the state might be duplicated. All of the school executives of the state realized that it would be impossible to put into execution the progressive measures they were contemplating until local districts should contribute definitely to the support of the schools.¹¹

The different divisions of the Ohio State Teachers' Association were organized within a short time. Thirty-one different committees were to report at the first regular meeting to be held in Dayton the following June. The Executive Committee, early in 1848, offered a special nine-weeks' series of instruction to the county that would make the best offer of cooperation. Huron County won the distinction, and the institute was held at Norwalk. Mr. Harvey was chosen as one of the lecturers to represent the State Association. American History was the subject assigned to him. He had already assisted at an institute held in Geauga County in 1846, as well as at two institutes in Summit

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County and another in Geauga County in 1847, so we very early see him drawn into the phase of teacher training that was to occupy the major portion of his time during the remainder of his life.

During 1867, 1868, and 1869 a number of superintendents and teachers in the vicinity of Cleveland had been meeting informally from time to time to discuss questions that interested all of them. On Saturday, November 13, 1869, at the old Weddell House in Cleveland, the Northeastern Ohio Teachers' Association was organized, with Mr. Harvey as its first president. His inaugural address, delivered at the first regular meeting of the association, is preserved for us in the form of notes taken by a friend. It shows that Mr. Harvey had already formulated clearly the basic ideas that he tried to put into operation during his term as State Commissioner of Common Schools.¹²

From the time of the formation of the Ohio Teachers' Association Mr. Harvey was in the very midst of the constant fight for better schools in Ohio and better support for these schools. In 1864 he was made President of the State Association. For years he was a member of the Executive Committee. In the same manner he served the Northeastern Association in various capacities. There is scarcely a year after the formation of these two associations that his name is not mentioned in the reports of one or both of these associations.

We were unable to locate anything written by Mr. Harvey before 1860, but soon after that date he began to contribute more or less regularly to the *Ohio Educational Monthly*. During 1865 and 1866 he assisted E. E. White in the editing of this periodical. From 1863 until 1867 he contributed something like thirty articles to this magazine alone.

A study of these articles throws much light upon the things that were engrossing Mr. Harvey's attention during this decade.

Under the title, "Common Sense and Genius," which appeared in December, 1863, he says:

"We find in a thoroughly educated man * * * a consequent harmonious development of these logical and emotional elements. It will be well with our children if their teachers know this, and while they bestow great pains upon the education and discipline of their intellects, do not, with criminal neglect, permit noxious weeds to check the growth and development of their emotions.

"Common sense seems to consist in a true union of logic and feeling. Its possession is certainly contingent on the active exercise of both."¹³

In "A Growl from a Tired Man," appearing during January, 1864, Mr. Harvey comments upon the tendency of industrious persons to overwork, and urges upon this class the necessity for relaxation in order that they may conserve their resources.¹⁴

The following, which appeared in the February issue of the same year, was penned upon the return from a teachers' institute where he had been lecturing. The title is "Slightly Censorious."

"Teaching is not a mirth-provoking business. The ruling idea of the schoolroom is cheerful, earnest hard work—not fun. Though wit, mirth, laughter are as appropriate there as elsewhere, a thoughtful conscientious teacher will not convert it into a free-and-easy loafing place, in which to crack jokes and tell funny stories. While he abominates severe looks, austere habits, and a haughty, oracular manner, he will not run to the opposite extreme and select a buffoon for an example."¹⁵

The August number of the same year contains an address delivered before the State Association. This was while he was Superintendent of Schools at Massillon. He complains bitterly that the schools of the day are not educating the heart along with the hand. He senses the necessity of moral and religious instruction in the schools, because he sees that "the homes are

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not all giving moral instruction." He urges strongly that more time and attention be given to the social nature of the pupils.¹⁶

The November issue of the same year contains a half-page article on "Education" that is a gem. The quotation is the beginning of the article.

"To be educated means that the faculties of the mind are developed; *to be well educated* means that they are so developed and disciplined that they act in harmony with the laws of order, which are the laws of God. Every person is to some extent, *educated*:—if not in our schools, out of them; if not by the fireside, on the farm or in the workshop, in the street; if not for good, for evil; if not for heaven, for hell. God's law is development. The hungry, craving mind will not, can not be inactive."¹⁷

"Characteristics of a True Life" appears in the last issue of this year. The sentence that is quoted from this article is particularly applicable to Mr. Harvey. It very succinctly expresses one of the guiding principles of his life.

"A true man does not make his life a patchwork of odds and ends pilfered from the lives of other people."¹⁸

After this introduction, Mr. Harvey lays down some very definite characteristics of the true life. Such an individual is not a servile imitator. He finishes what he begins, because this world has no time for lazy people. To this he adds that there must be genuine enthusiasm if such a life is to ring true.

In a short article, "All Must Work," at the close of the same issue, he adds some thoughts that seem as though they had been omitted from the previous article mentioned. The burden of this second article is

"Each individual has a work to do in reforming the evils of the times."¹⁹

Mr. Harvey writes on many topics, but every article is some-

how based on a bit of philosophy that is pertinent to teachers and teaching. Some of these are in the form of conversation. Several are allegorical in nature. A series of such articles entitled "Talks After Working Hours," and signed "by an ex-mechanic," run throughout the 1865 and 1866 issues, the years when he was assistant-editor. In the guise of an ex-mechanic he discusses the problems of better education for working men; the difficulty which such men have to bring up their children correctly, particularly when they themselves are frequenters of pool-rooms, card-parlors, and saloons; and several other problems that have their roots in actual school situations.²⁰ In this and other articles one can read that Mr. Harvey was pretty thoroughly imbued with the disciplinary idea of education, although he is not an extremist in this view.

In "Knowledge the Measure of Ability," appearing in April, 1865, he declares that "We measure man by gauging his ability."²¹ In the same issue there is an article on "Composition Writing." In this he hits at the poor choice of topics assigned for compositions. He says that most of the teachers think poorly and write more poorly, and adds that these teachers should have to do more writing themselves.²²

The September issue of 1865 carries his inaugural address before the Ohio Teachers' Association. It has a patriotic turn that is strictly in keeping with the times. All men are now free, so we must keep this as the basis of our educational philosophy. He urges the wider circulation of educational literature among teachers and patrons, laws to check the growing truancy and absenteeism, more teachers' institutes and better ones as well, normal classes for at least six weeks each year in each Congressional district, and county supervision. Again we see forecast the ideas upon which he will center his attention when he becomes Commissioner of Common Schools.²³

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During May, 1866, "History in the Schools," suggests that since history is not commonly studied in the schools, the wise teacher may get excellent results by using some good history as a reader in the upper grades.²⁴

The November and December issues of 1866 carry a continued article with the caption, "An Educational Reminiscence." In this article a back-woods director comes to his school to get a good, old-fashioned teacher for his Line school. He doesn't want any of the new-fangled ideas, and he is willing to pay \$10 a month. The author tells him he hasn't any such teachers, but gets him to talk to a progressive young man. The result is a completely rejuvenated school and school district.²⁵ This is typical of some of Harvey's most interesting and most effective writing during this period. It is written in masterful language, and probably carried the message that he wanted to convey much more forcibly than any straight exposition could have done.

Another short article at the close of the December issue of this year is entitled, "The Secret of Success." The burden of this article is that teaching is just like business, in that the first thing is to know what to do, and the second thing is to know how to do it.²⁶

The 1867 numbers carry several articles also. "Conduct and Character," January, 1867, is turned especially against those teachers who believe that any one can teach.²⁷

The March, April, and June numbers carry a series of articles on "Geography." Attention is urged to the order and the manner of teaching, so that the pupil may be able to carry away some definite impressions of the larger things. Thoroughness is the keynote, but in getting this teachers are reminded that geography is a very difficult subject for beginners, so he urges a simple approach that will properly orient the pupils and give

them the necessary terminology naturally. The object method is recommended wherever possible.²⁸

The September, 1867, issue has an article on "Mental Arithmetic." Mental arithmetic is to be taught with the distinct purpose of inculcating logical thinking. The disciplinary effects are clearly shown, as reasoning in arithmetic is to carry over to all questions of life.²⁹

These articles show the many sides of Mr. Harvey's interests. There is a fluency and effectiveness in the writing that foreshadow the texts of the later days. This series of articles, the fact that he was teaching and lecturing at teachers' institutes in an ever-widening circle of cities and counties, and his activities in the Ohio Teachers' Association and in the Northeastern Ohio Teachers' Association, coupled with his outstanding success as a superintendent of schools in Massillon and Painesville, were making Mr. Harvey one of the best-known and most-respected school executives in Ohio.

In 1867 Mr. Harvey was invited to become Superintendent of Schools in Cleveland. About the same time he was offered the same position in Columbus. He did not accept either position. Such a position would have taken all his time, thus curtailing his institute work and other phases of the state program in which he was so deeply interested. It is probable, also, that the natural modesty and reticence of the man made him shrink at the thought of the prominence that such a position would carry with it.

When Commissioner Henkle resigned in 1871 it was the most natural thing in the world for Governor Hayes to appoint this active, prominent school man to complete the unexpired term. This appointment was made in October, 1871. The appointment was further confirmed by election in November of the same year.

In the *Eighteenth Annual Report of the State Commissioner of*

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Common Schools to the General Assembly of the State of Ohio for the School Year Ending August 31, 1871, Mr. Harvey wrote:

"I am happy to report that the schools of the State have enjoyed a marked degree of prosperity during the year. The number of different pupils enrolled in the schools, within the year, compared with the whole number enumerated, has been larger than usual; many new and convenient school buildings have been erected; the income from various sources for the support of schools has been increased; teachers' institutes have been well attended; and improved methods of teaching have been more generally used in our best schools.

* * * * *

"The framers of the school law of 1853 stated, in legal form, their views of the manner in which school affairs should be administered. They did not claim that all possible wants and needs were provided for in their scheme. They evidently believed that educational systems are growths, and that future legislation would supplement their work. What they did was so well done, that legislators have shrunk from the task of attempting to improve it, although their attention has been called, from time to time, to the necessity of supplying acknowledged deficiencies. We have, consequently, taken scarcely a single step forward since 1853, but have suffered other states to sweep past us in their onward march. We may regret the necessity for progress, but we should not cling too tenaciously to the customs and traditions of the past. Our school system should be modified and improved. It is unwise longer to hesitate, or to delay the thorough revision of our school laws.

"Every careful observer of the signs of the times knows that we are entering upon a new era in education. Old methods of teaching are being replaced by new ones: our views of education are being modified by the 'logic of events.' In school legislation, we have long been drifting about in an eddy of stolid conservatism—may we not hope that we shall soon steer boldly out of it? We deplore the want of efficiency in our country schools, but persistently refuse to avail ourselves of the best means to make them better. We

acknowledge that, as a class, our teachers are not so well qualified as they should be, but fail to provide any facilities for their improvement. This is all wrong. The State must do something more than buy school-house sites, erect school-houses, and employ teachers. Our school system must be vitalized and made efficient by the employment of agencies which will furnish it competent teachers, and insure a faithful performance of the minutest details of school work.”³⁰

The above quotation is from his first report to the State Legislature. Really it is only the preamble to his first report. Mr. Harvey had been in many of the counties in the state, and he knew what he was talking about when he declared that the common schools were not what they should be and that teachers were poorly prepared and without adequate means of improvement.

In the main introduction to the report many suggestions are made for better systems of pupil and financial accounting.

He reports that free high schools have been established in all of the cities and most of the larger towns of the state. In a large measure these have taken the place of private academies and seminaries. Mr. Harvey insists, however, that

“There is a demand for a number of well conducted female seminaries, normal schools, and academies. Our high schools do not furnish accommodations sufficient for the large number of youth desirous of pursuing the higher branches of study. * * * Many of our public school teachers are educated in or graduate from them. Those to whom their management is entrusted are generally striving to keep abreast of the times. They realize the fact that the young and immature need training and discipline, and employ methods of teaching adapted to the age and intellectual wants of their pupils, instead of persisting in abortive attempts to achieve success by converting a school room for youth into a lecture hall.

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"It is a significant fact, and one well worthy of special remark, that those female seminaries which receive the most generous patronage, discard the absurd notion that a curriculum of studies for girls should differ, in any essential particular, from one for boys. * * *

"A commendable feature in some of our private schools is the attention given to normal instruction. In the absence of other efficient means and facilities for professional training, their efforts to supply a manifest want merit encouragement and reward.

* * * * *

"The multiplicity of colleges in Ohio is an evil rather than a blessing. The aggregate of their incomes is scarcely sufficient to sustain two first-class universities. It is hoped that the contributions to the endowment of institutions of this kind will hereafter be bestowed upon those already established."³¹

His objection to many of the so-called colleges was not confined, however, to income alone, as he adds that "some of our colleges are such in name only, being, in fact, but first or second class academies. He goes into considerable detail concerning the new Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College (now Ohio State University) that was to have been completed by November 1, 1872. Mr. Harvey sees in this polytechnic school the fulfillment of a long-felt need in Ohio.

Mr. Harvey had mentioned in the beginning of his report that while the state had made provision for schools it had not made any plans for the training of teachers. He knew from close contact with the teachers in the field how serious this lack was. Concerning this situation, he says:

"Ample provision for an adequate supply of competent, trained teachers is essential to completeness and efficiency in any school system. To provide for the erection of school houses and for keeping schools in session a given number

of weeks each year is not enough. The employment of skillful, intelligent, conscientious teachers in school work is the best and most satisfactory assurance we can have that our children are being educated aright. Educational interests prosper when incompetency and inefficiency are not tolerated in the school-room, and when school authorities heed the wise maxim of the political economist, 'No man can afford to hire poor labor.'

"Success in teaching depends very largely upon practice in the use and application of methods. One may know *what* to teach, and yet not know *how* to teach. A good scholar may be a poor teacher; for scholastic attainments avail not with those who do not or can not use method in instruction. The naturally immethodical are out of place in the school-room, and rarely or never become successful teachers. Those who do not possess the tact and skill requisite for complete success, may possibly acquire both by patient study and diligent practice in well-conducted professional schools.

"The experience of the past has taught us that we ought not to depend upon schools established and conducted as private enterprises for this professional or normal training. We must employ other agencies than these, or there will be no permanent source of supply for the constantly increasing demand for thoroughly trained teachers. The wants and needs of our public schools imperatively demand that a system of normal instruction, of whose advantages every teacher may readily avail himself, should at once be established by the State, and its management entrusted to a board of managers." ³²

In some parts of the state, local associations of teachers had banded together for mutual improvement and study, but such attempts had rarely reached many individuals or lasted very long. In the fall of 1843 Dr. Asa D. Lord, then in charge of the Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary at Kirtland, had given a special two weeks' training course to his students and to such of the teachers of the vicinity as cared to attend. He repeated this

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with a course of one week the next fall. This work of Dr. Lord is generally considered to be the forerunner of the teachers' institute in Ohio. In the quotation given earlier in this chapter the meeting in 1843 was regarded as the first teachers' institute.

The first county teachers' institute was held in Sandusky, Erie County, in September, 1845. The second county institute was held at Chardon, Geauga County, in October of the same year. In 1847 seven of the northern counties of the state held such institutes.

These first institutes were sustained by the voluntary contributions of teachers and friends of the public schools. The General Assembly on February 8, 1847, passed an act whereby the county commissioners of Ashtabula, Cuyahoga, Delaware, Erie, Geauga, Lake, Lorain, Medina, Portage, Summit, and Trumbull Counties were authorized, but not required to appropriate funds from the interest of each county's share of the United States Surplus Revenue Fund, which had been distributed in 1837. Although this act was meant to encourage teachers' institutes, very little money was so expended. By the act of February 16, 1849, the commissioners of these counties were authorized to appropriate enough additional funds for this purpose to bring the amount to one hundred dollars that might be expended in any one year. This appropriation was not mandatory, however. On February 24, 1849, this act was further amended to extend the same privilege to all of the counties in the state.³³

By the act of March 14, 1853, as amended March 18, 1864, and March 28, 1865, each applicant for a teachers' certificate had to pay fifty cents for the privilege of examination. This money was to be paid to the county treasurer as the "Teachers' Institute Fund." Not to exceed one-third of the total amount might be expended for the expenses of the Board of Examiners of the

county. The remainder was to be used for defraying the expenses of instructors and lecturers for the institutes.

Because the annual appropriation of \$100 was not mandatory upon the county commissioners, such appropriations were seldom made. During the term that Mr. Harvey was State Commissioner this amount never exceeded \$825 for the whole state in any one year. Since this represented the state's total appropriation for the training of teachers, Commissioner Harvey was often very bitter at the state's negligence. A system of state normal schools was his first solution of the demand for a supply of trained teachers, but since this seemed to be out of the question at the time, he urged an adequate support of teachers' institutes as the most immediate assistance that could be given. In the year covered by his first report, 68 teachers' institutes had been held. It worried him that this single available means of teacher improvement had to be financed with the teachers' own money.

Concerning this method of teacher improvement, he says:

"Institutes have long been regarded by teachers as very important educational helps. They are most largely attended and their advantages best improved by the most intelligent teachers. The young and inexperienced, the self-conceited and parsimonious, sometimes attempt to apologize for their non-attendance, by conjuring up some frivolous objection to the character of their exercises or the details of their management. The acknowledged fact, that schools are best taught and school affairs best administered in those counties where teachers take the most interest in institutes, is a sure test of their value and efficiency. The suggestion has been made, and is here repeated, that some legislation is needed to enlarge the sphere of their influence, make them more effective, and relieve teachers from the burden of their support. In some states, the schools of each county are required or permitted to be closed during the week a county institute is

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held, and the teachers required or permitted to attend it without loss of wages." ³⁴

Mr. Harvey was successful in getting an act through the legislature whereby teachers might close their schools without loss of salary.

In another place in the same report, he adds:

"The value of the agencies we may use for this purpose, can be estimated from the good results which have hitherto attended the employment of similar agencies independent of state patronage. With no means except the institute fund, the teachers of many counties have successfully sustained teachers' institutes a series of years, obtaining a small amount of normal instruction, it is true, but very valuable to the inexperienced." ³⁵

Commissioner Harvey insistently urged that the General Assembly should create a Board of Institute Managers, which should give its full time to this important work. It was his idea that these men should have the general management of all such work throughout the state. He realized that each county had outstanding teachers who could contribute much to the knowledge and training of the other teachers if they were properly encouraged and instructed. At times when the members of the board were not engaged in such duties, they were to serve as consultants and advise with superintendents, principals, and boards of education.

Commissioner Harvey had thought the problem through in a very definite manner. He advocated both district and county institutes, with a carefully worked out program for each.

"A district institute should be held annually in each judicial district. The length of its session should not be less than four weeks. The best teachers in the district should assist the board of institute managers in conducting the exercises. During the session, opportunity should be furnished

for reviews of the branches taught in the common schools, and for instruction in and practice of the methods used by those most successful in teaching them. These institutes will be attended by the most intelligent teachers in the district, who will go thence as educational missionaries. As provision will be made for a somewhat extended course of instruction in methods, they will take the place of the expensive district and county normal schools of other states. They will be centers toward which the educational talent of the district will gravitate.

"County institutes, as heretofore, will be attended by inexperienced teachers, mostly, many of whom have enjoyed but few educational advantages—frequently no other than those furnished by the common school—and who do not intend to follow teaching as a permanent employment. The methods elucidated and recommended in them should be such as young teachers can use in unclassified country schools, not those which can be successfully employed only in schools thoroughly graded, or where regular and punctual attendance is the rule and not the exception."³⁶

Such a plan as this offered the most immediate help for the situation that was known to exist in the state. Mr. Harvey knew, however, that there were many teachers who desired more training than any system of institutes could furnish. This is the group that he had in mind when he wrote the following:

"There are many teachers who desire to fit themselves thoroughly for usefulness in their profession. They take so much pleasure in teaching that they intend to make it the business of a lifetime. The state cannot afford to lose the services of such as these. Every facility for acquiring the desired training should be ungrudgingly furnished them. Hence the policy and necessity of establishing one or more normal schools to be sustained as state institutions. * * * A normal school will enable the ambitious and persevering to secure thorough, systematic training. It should be purely a professional school. Academic instruction, except such as may be incidentally given in the illustration of methods,

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should be dispensed with, that the science of education and the art of teaching may receive exclusive attention." ³⁷

It was Mr. Harvey's belief that there should be both an elementary and an advanced course offered in these institutions. The elementary course was to cover the best methods of teaching the elementary branches, as well as the general philosophy of education. There was to be practice in the use of methods, instruction in the details of school classification and management, instruction in educational history and legislation, and instruction in the duties and responsibilities of teachers, patrons, and school officers. The advanced course was to provide for all matters relating to pedagogics. Those who completed this course should be familiar with the development and practical working of educational systems wherever established, should be able to criticize text books intelligently and know how to supplement them, and should be thoroughly acquainted with what was considered best in school architecture. This was only 1871, but Mr. Harvey was outlining an educational curriculum that was not carried out in most teacher-training institutions for another half century.

The Commissioner had been all over the state many times. He knew, as few others knew, how badly the teachers of the rural districts needed supervision. He carried his convictions to the General Assembly in no uncertain terms.

"The graded, thoroughly classified, and well-taught schools of our cities, towns, and villages, depend for efficient guidance and management upon the energy, intelligence, and provident foresight of their superintendents. Their well-deserved reputation is mainly the product of the same agencies. Many of our country schools are badly managed, much of our educational fund is squandered or fails to be productive of good results, because there is no supervisory head in each county to see that school work of all kinds is well done. * * * Practically, our country schools are

without supervision. Each teacher does much as he pleases, well knowing that no intelligent overseer will ever invade the privacy of his school-room, to direct or criticize the work done there. * * *

" * * * Like most people, teachers need watching, advice, admonition, kind reproof, and words of cheer; and in the school-room as in the work-shop, on the farm, or in the business house, supervision is a motor of wondrous power. * * * While our cities and towns have been making rapid progress in everything that concerns education, our rural districts have failed to keep pace with them, and in some localities have actually retrograded.

* * * * *

"As in the past, so for many years to come, these schools must be taught by the young and inexperienced. The character of the rising generation will be molded by 'prentice hands.' * * * Is it wise to entrust the vital interests of education to teachers almost as immature in years and judgment as their pupils, without providing some means whereby their efforts may be aided, controlled, and encouraged? Can we reasonably expect to derive much real benefit from agencies so feeble, employed in a manner which would be ruinous or disastrous in any business enterprise?

* * * * *

"County superintendency is not recommended, however, unless liberal provision shall be made to pay the salaries of those who are to perform its official duties. A county superintendent should be a *live* man—his fitness for the position not determined by his unfitness for any other employment. He should not be a failure in the pulpit or at the bar, a doctor without patients, or a politician transformed into a school official because he is in the way of some aspirant to some office. * * * He should be of the people, knowing their thoughts and the motives by which they are actuated, tolerant of whim and caprice, patient with the timid and wisely conservative, having faith in God and His providence, and moved to do good deeds by an ardent love for

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the human race. Such a man should be found in every county." ⁸⁸

The General Assembly is reminded that supervision is no longer in the experimental stage, as twenty-one states and territories have already made supervision a prominent feature in their school systems.

Commissioner Harvey next strikes at the provision of the act of March 14, 1853, whereby the township was made the local unit for school administration. Each township was in charge of a board that controlled the central high schools of the township. By the law as amended in 1871 this board determined studies to be pursued and books to be used, fixed boundaries, located school sites, estimated expenses, and apportioned the school money among the several schools of the district. Local directors controlled the educational interests and affairs of the sub-districts. They took the enumeration, employed and dismissed teachers, made all contracts for building, repairing, and supplies, and disbursed the school money entrusted to them.

He complains against this divided control and suggests that the township board be made up of one director from each sub-district. He explains in considerable detail how such a plan will rid the rural schools of one of the worst causes of friction and inefficiency.

The last thing that he asks for in this report is a recodification of the school laws of the state so that all may understand the purposes of the recent laws. This codification actually took place during his administration.

The *Nineteenth Annual Report* (the one for the year ending August 31, 1872) calls attention to most of the points emphasized in the former report.

As a means of raising the standards of teachers he suggests that

"The standard can be raised by requiring of applicants a greater familiarity with methods of instruction, a larger percentage of accurately expressed answers, correct orthography, good penmanship, knowledge of principles as well as facility in the application of rules, and evidence of ability to rouse the dormant energies of pupils to healthy, vigorous action. To these requirements may be added an acquaintance with some of the best practical works on mental and moral science, and intelligence in matters of general interest, without which a teacher will do routine work only, follow the lead of fanciful theorists, or vainly attempt to imitate those whose methods he cannot use successfully, being ignorant of the philosophy upon which they are founded, and, consequently, incapable of modifying them to answer the demands of varying circumstances." ³⁹

During this year the Commissioner had assisted in conducting teachers' institutes in twenty-two different counties. With this as a background, he urges the necessity of the formation of the Board of Institute Managers in order that the work may be better correlated and so prove more beneficial to the teachers who attend.

In urging the need of state normal schools he calls attention to the fact that the private schools pay more attention to the common branches than they do to what he has outlined as the proper course of studies for a normal school. They do this in order that their pupils may pass the examination and get a certificate to teach. He again urges the state schools on the ground that they shall be purely professional schools.

The most striking article in the *Twentieth Annual Report* was read at the Ohio Teachers' Association in 1873 under the title, "Studies, the Pursuit of Which the State Should Encourage." In this article he tries to outline the education that safe citizenship requires. He takes the ground that the duty of the state

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o educate is founded on the necessity of education as a means for securing national prosperity. The character and extent of his education must be determined by the nature of the person to be educated and the requirements of the government to which he owes allegiance. He recognizes the moral nature first, because if this is not cultivated there will be national disaster. The religious side of the individual must be cultivated in the schools by the inculcation of all the cardinal non-sectarian truths of religion. The state needs a race of strong, healthy men and women, so the youth must be taught to live wisely, that their strength will not be "wasted ere they reach the half way from the cradle to the grave." The eye, the hand, the voice, and the ear must be cultivated, because "modern civilization is a hard task-master." Reading must be mastered, for otherwise the readiest means of culture will be closed. Numbers also must be mastered, that the ordinary calculations of life may be accomplished. Certain forms of higher mathematics and the proper use of words are beneficial for their mental discipline. Certain sciences are now essential. There must be an acquaintance with the world in which we live and the primary laws of its motions. Political economy and civil polity are necessary in the rising of the new economic order. One dare not be ignorant of the outstanding developments of the history of his country, for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship are beginning to weigh heavily upon the individual. A fair knowledge of psychology is urged on the ground that "there will be fewer mental dyspeptics when this science shall be regarded with more favor by our so-called utilitarians." The individual will make his choice of foreign languages on the basis of practical as well as disciplinary values. He closes the category with the assertion that the minimum of education for the individual is not the maximum of education which the state should furnish, and the assertion of

the belief that America will never give over her battle cries of "free education" and "no class distinction." ⁴⁰

In the *Twenty-first Annual Report* he summarizes and re-emphasizes the points that he had been working for in the years before he came to Columbus and which he had tried to put into operation during the period of his Commissionership. He makes a final plea for his Board of Institute Managers and explains in detail what he would have this board do. In earlier reports he had urged district boards of examiners who should grant to worthy teachers a certificate that should be intermediate between the county and the state certificate. This he urges again. There are too many small schools as the result of the city-ward migration. Something should be done to consolidate such districts. The good results obtained by some of the township superintendents are pointed out, but along with this he makes one more urgent plea for county supervision.

The last thing in his final report is a suggested plan for checking truancy and absenteeism, although he is not sure that those who are clamoring for this are ready to stand by the consequences of such a law. He would pass laws to prevent truancy. A truant official should enforce them. He would pass regulations preventing pupils from loafing in certain types of disreputable places. He would not permit the employment in mines, factories, hotels, etc., unless the pupils had already received some education previously. We have here the rudiments of a compulsory-attendance law and the forerunner of our age-and-schooling certificates. ⁴¹

Commissioner Harvey had worked diligently during the time that he had been in office. He was able to see much improvement in the schools of the state, but he had been unable to get any of his most-urged reforms enacted into law. Minor laws were passed, but his major efforts had been directed toward

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things that generally did not come to pass until the next generation. Such is the fate of many men who have the keen insight into the needs of humanity, as he sensed the needs in education. The consolidation of small school districts is not yet complete. The teachers' institute has given way to the normal schools and the state teachers' colleges as he desired. Township supervision became complete, and in turn gave way to county supervision. The compulsory-attendance law has put practically every child in the state into school. The high school has grown to an extent that he could not have foreseen, because there has never been anything like it in the world. All of these were the things that he was striving for for the youth of Ohio. His years as Commissioner of Common Schools have borne ample fruit.

Mr. Harvey completed his term as commissioner in 1875. No record can be found of how he spent the next two years, but it is very probable that he gave these two years to institute work and other phases of educational service of which the schools stood so much in need.

In 1877 he became Superintendent of Schools in Painesville for the second time. He remained in this position until 1883, at which time he retired from active school work.

From this time until his death on January 20, 1892, he gave his time to instructing in teachers' institutes and to educational lecturing in Ohio and the adjoining states. His daughter, Mrs Franklin H. Kendall, verifies the statement that her father worked in teachers' institutes in every county in Ohio except one.

So far no mention has been made of Harvey's *Grammar* and his series of language texts. In the minds of most people of this generation there has not been even an inkling that the author of this famous line of text books was also one of the outstanding school executives and school reformers in Ohio and the

nation. To most readers of this chapter, the accomplishments mentioned have probably come as a decided surprise.

Harvey's *A Practical Grammar of the English Language* was published by Wilson, Hinkle and Company of Cincinnati in 1868. The text had its inception in Mr. Harvey's own experiences in gaining an education and the need that he met everywhere for improving the oral and written language of teachers and pupils. He had become a master in the use of the English language. He believed thoroughly in the efficacy of the study of words as mental discipline. He was not satisfied with the training of teachers and with the existing texts on the market. The series of language texts was his contribution to the solving of the situation.

The Preface to the revised edition of 1878, published by Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company, gives very clearly what he hoped to accomplish.

"This treatise is a revision of the author's *Practical Grammar*, first published ten years ago. In the work of revision, as in the preparation of the original treatise, the ever-recurring wants and requirements of the class-room have been kept constantly in view. Some matters of minor importance have been omitted to make room for a more extended as well as more satisfactory treatment of several essential subjects; a few definitions have been modified, and, it is believed, improved in expression and accuracy; the number of technical terms to be used in parsing and analysis has been diminished; but the distinguishing features of the treatise have been preserved, * * *

"Accuracy and facility in the use of language, both spoken and written, are the chief ends to be secured by the study of grammar. To secure these ends, a thorough acquaintance with the elements, forms, structure, and laws of our mother tongue, is indispensable; and a practical knowledge of these can be acquired only by patient, persistent exercise in the analysis and synthesis of syllables, words, and sentences.

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The plan of this treatise is in strict accordance with this educational doctrine. The author has endeavored to present the subject in a simple, concise, and perspicuous manner, and to furnish such 'models' for necessary routine work as the student may use to the best advantage. He would call special attention to these 'models,' and suggest that more attention be paid to those relating to synthesis than most teachers have heretofore thought advisable. * * * Neither the erudition of the teacher nor the exhaustive completeness of the textbook used, can compensate for the lack of intelligent, systematic *drill* in the class-room." ⁴²

This book was revised again by Louise Connolly of the American Book Co. in 1900 and was published under the title, *New English Grammar for Schools*. Some time after 1878 a section on diagramming was added.

The *Elementary Grammar and Composition*, published by Wilson, Hinkle and Company in 1869, was revised by Mr. Harvey and republished by Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company in 1880. The Preface here also furnishes a definite clue to the author's intentions.

"The work is a revision of the author's *Elementary Grammar*, first published in 1869. Although many changes have been made, especially in the arrangement of topics, the author has kept steadily in view, in the work of revision, the aim he had in the preparation of the original treatise—to present the subject in a style neither too difficult for the beginner, nor too simple for the advanced student.

"Part I consists of lessons in technical grammar, sentence-making, and composition. Great care has been taken never to define a term or to enunciate a principle without first preparing the mind of the pupil to grasp and comprehend the meaning and use of the term defined or the principle enunciated. * * *

"Sentence-making and composition are, it is believed, presented in a natural and attractive manner. Words are given for the pupils to use in sentences. At first, all the words

are given. Having acquired some facility in the construction of sentences, the pupil is next taught to use groups of words, phrases, and clauses, as single words.

"In composition, the pupil is first taught to tell what he sees in a picture, and to answer questions concerning the objects represented in it. The description and the answers following it make a composition. He is next taught to study a picture, and to exercise his inventive powers in writing short stories suggested by it. Experience has demonstrated that this is a natural method of instruction, * * *

"This course of instruction is introductory to that given in Part II, which contains a concise yet exhaustive statement of the properties and modifications of the different parts of speech, carefully prepared models for parsing and analysis, rules of syntax, and plans for the description of single objects—a continuation of the composition work begun in Part I. * * *

"Diagrams for 'mapping' sentences are given in connection with the models for analysis. This is a new feature, introduced at the request of a large number of intelligent teachers.

"It has been said that there is no royal road to geometry. The same may be said of grammar and composition. The meaning and application of technical terms must be learned, sentences must be analyzed, words must be parsed, before the student can comprehend the philosophy that underlies the correct use of any language. The labor necessary to acquire this knowledge, and the practice necessary to secure facility and accuracy in the use of one's mother-tongue, may be made attractive, but it cannot be dispensed with, neither can it be materially lessened. All that is claimed for this work is, that it shows how this labor should be expended to secure the best results."⁴³

This book was also revised in 1900 by Louise Connolly and was published by the American Book Co. under the title, *Elementary Lessons in Language*.

This was the series of texts that made the name of Thomas W. Harvey famous throughout the midwest. The texts repre-

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sent a distinct step in the change from the old Latin grammars to much the same sort of terminology applied to the English language. In the central states these books enjoyed an unprecedented sale for half a century. Today we object strenuously to the long-drawn-out exercises in parsing, to the complicated constructions, to the later emphasis upon diagramming that Mr. Harvey tells us he was asked to include, and to the exercises in prosody, but these texts held the center of the field until they were replaced by texts emphasizing the newer phases of language drill and oral English. Belief in the disciplinary theory of education held sway. Much time was spent upon learning constructions where the child could not have made an error had he tried to do so. Yet these texts continued to be used for forty years after any material revision of their contents had been made. The reason is to be found in exactly the same quality of the man that was mentioned in regard to his work as State Commissioner of Common Schools. He had a clearness of vision that enabled him to look into the future and see what was going to happen. Grammar was a disciplinary study, because it had its basis in logic, but it had a highly utilitarian value as well. He was merely presenting the system whereby he had learned to master the English language and its usage. If he erred, it was in the fact that he did not realize that such study as he proposed would do little good until the individual had progressed to the point where he was aware of his language shortcomings and wanted to remedy them.

The third book of the series, *First Lessons in the English Language*, was published by Wilson, Hinkle and Company in 1875. The Preface to this little book shows another one of the reasons for the long popularity and usefulness of the series.

"An attempt has been made, in this little manual, to arrange a series of progressive lessons in the use of language,

which shall lead the pupil to express thought accurately and concisely, and to avoid, as well as to criticise, the most common inaccuracies of expression. The book in its present form is simply an extension and application of the principles sketched out in the 'Oral Lessons' of the author's *Elementary Grammar*." ⁴⁴

The author believed in having the pupil write, and write correctly, as soon as he was able to do so, but he also believed in the necessity for early drill in oral expression. Thus while Mr. Harvey was unable to get entirely away from the older theories of grammatical usage and grammar teaching he was also reaching out toward ideas that have not been thoroughly expressed until the last decade.

This series of texts undoubtedly was over the heads of many of the teachers and more of the pupils during the half century of its popularity and use, but it contained sufficient material to enable any one to use it for a very complete mastery of the language if they had the will to do so, and therein is the reason for its longevity, for that is exactly what untold thousands did.

The McGuffey series of readers had long enjoyed a monopoly of this text-book field. After the revisions of 1843 and 1853 nothing had been done to any of the volumes for years. Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company thought something should be done.

"About 1874 the firm thought it wise to exploit a new series. At its request Mr. Thomas W. Harvey prepared a series consisting of five books. The series was published in 1875; but the experience of a few years with the Harvey Readers showed that the people still preferred the McGuffey Readers and after long discussion it was agreed that these should again be revised. This determination was hastened by the publication of the Appleton Readers in 1877, and by the incoming of a number of skilled agents pushing these books in the field that had for many years been held so strongly for the McGuffey Readers as to baffle the best en-

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deavors of two or three Eastern publishers who had tested the market.”⁴⁵

The Appleton Readers, prepared by Andrew J. Rickoff, Superintendent of the Cleveland Schools, Wm. T. Harris, Superintendent of Schools of St. Louis, and already recognized as one of the foremost scholars of the nation, and Professor Mark Bailey of Yale put up such a formidable competition that they immediately replaced the McGuffey Readers in many places where the McGuffey Readers had held undisputed sway for two generations of pupils. The Harvey Readers stood no chance in this competition, as one of the most bitterly contested fights that the textbook field had ever seen was soon under way between these two companies.

If it had not been for this contest and the fact that Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company had to throw their full support to the McGuffey Readers, it is more than likely that the Harvey Readers would have enjoyed at least something of the same popularity that had come to the series of language texts. As was said before, the series was in five books and had been prepared very carefully. In the Preface to *The Graded School Fifth Reader* we find the following:

“The selections are mostly new, and are such as will serve for drill in all styles of reading. Some standard selections have been retained, simply because no reader of this grade can be considered complete without them. A reader which should be limited in the range of its selections to such as had not been previously used, would exclude the finest specimens in the English language.

The lessons of this reader are, we believe, of an unusually high moral and religious character; yet great care has been taken to omit every sentiment that might be offensive to the religious or political views of any citizen. The rights of *all* in our common schools have been carefully respected.”⁴⁶

The selections were arranged with reference to their supposed difficulty as elocutionary exercises. Attention was to be given to the etymology of words, the historical references, the figures of speech, and the modifying elements. There were close to forty pages of introductory matter to assist the teacher in teaching articulation and inflection. The general character of the selections is very much like that of the McGuffey Readers.

On April 9, 1878, Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company determined on making a new series of readers to be known as the Revised Edition of McGuffey Eclectic Readers. The method of teaching was to be adjusted to a phonic-word method and the gradation of the material was to be improved. Miss Amanda Funnelle, Professor of Elementary Education in the Terre Haute State Normal School and Robert M. Stevenson, the then popular Superintendent of the Columbus Schools, were to prepare the first three books. Thomas W. Harvey, the "author of the most widely used grammar in the midwest and west," and Edwin C. Hewett, President of the Normal University, Bloomington, Ill., were to prepare the three higher books.

All of these folk knew the McGuffey Readers intimately. After working for two months during the summer of 1878 the manuscripts were in fairly accurate shape. After the compilers returned to their respective schools, Henry H. Vail, general editor for the firm, prepared these for the press and they were published in 1879, but they were not put upon the market until the lower volumes had been tried out and certain needed revisions made. The *Fourth Reader* was very largely new matter. In the fifth and sixth volumes matter was retained where nothing superior could be found to take its place. A brief biography of each author was included, together with notes explaining the text. These volumes were printed in the best manner then known to the text-book trade. Appleton and Company and Van Antwerp,

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Bragg and Company finally saw the futility of continuing the fight and agreed to quit. The upper reader of this revised series reached over a million in sales, while the first reader went beyond eight million copies.

Mr. Harvey also assisted in compiling a series of spellers and in the preparation of the Eclectic Series of Geographies. He knew the basic deficiencies of the texts then in use and labored hard and long to remedy these deficiencies. At the time he prepared the first two volumes of the language series, he was so busy with other pressing duties that he often could spare only a few minutes each day to spend upon the preparation of his manuscripts. He lived long enough to see his labors amply rewarded.

Dr. A. D. Lord had recommended in 1854 that the Ohio Teachers' Association establish a normal school under the auspices of the association. Almost immediately after that Cyrus McNeely offered to transfer to the Ohio Teachers' Association the house and grounds of his school in Hopedale, valued at \$10,000, for the purpose of a normal school. Mr. Harvey was elected a trustee of this school.

From 1875 nearly up to the time of his death, he delivered each year a course of lectures to the students of Lake Erie Seminary, an institution of which he had been a trustee since 1880. During these years he made many gifts to this institution. Mr. Harvey was also trustee of Grand River Institute.

In 1881 the University of Wooster granted the degree of doctor of philosophy to Mr. Harvey. Allegheny College also granted him the same degree the same year.

It is very doubtful if the real merit of this quiet, unassuming man was properly appreciated until his death forced upon other shoulders the tasks that he had been performing. When the Northeastern Association and the Ohio Teachers' Association began to cast up his score for the purpose of conducting memorial

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services that would be in keeping with the great love that the teachers had for him, it was probably borne in upon them for the first time that their friend was the outstanding character of the educational development of their state and generation. Superintendent E. F. Moulton's "Sketch of Thomas W. Harvey," from which we have quoted before, has this to say of him: .

"A full biography of Dr. Harvey would be almost a complete history of public education in Ohio for the last half century. His life has been so inwrought in the growth, advancement and successful operation of the school system of this great and flourishing commonwealth, that it seems a part of it, the vital part, that which has given it life, growth and energy. * * * Every true educational reform has had Dr. Harvey at the helm. In his hands we have felt all would be safe. He was always a tried and trusted leader. As an institute lecturer and instructor, Mr. Harvey had no superior. From the organization of the Teachers' Institute in Ohio up to last summer, he rarely, if at all, failed to give more or less of his time during the institute season to the teachers of his own and other states. * * * Many of us will never forget the days and weeks we have spent as co-laborers with him in institute work. His presence with us and his words of encouragement to us who were younger and less experienced in the work, were so helpful and so comforting. We remember well when we told him how we dreaded every hour we were to speak to the teachers of a certain institute, and he replied, 'Why, my friend, I have the same feeling. After all the years of my experience I never go before the teachers of an institute without more or less fear and trembling.' These words gave us courage to put forth our best efforts, not without, but with less, 'fear and trembling.'

"He seemed especially fitted by nature as well as by training for this kind of work. He seemed to know so well the needs of teachers and how in a tactful way to supply these needs, that he soon won the hearts and gained the attention of all. * * *

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"As a teacher, Thomas W. Harvey was born to the purple. His methods were natural, his language simple, his thoughts clear, his knowledge far-reaching, his grasp of the subject and all that supplemented it comprehensive, his presentation of it forceful, his enthusiasm unbounded, and his power to stir every pupil to his best endeavor remarkable. * * * Thus, in his profession, Thomas W. Harvey was the peer if not the chief of his contemporaries. * * *

"As an author of text-books, he stands pre-eminent. Through Harvey's Grammar, he is probably more widely known than any other writer in this line of work. As a purely technical Grammar, Harvey's has no superior. * * *

"He loved literature for its own sake. You rarely saw him, at home or abroad, without a book of some one of the old authors in his hand. Chaucer was his favorite. Possessing one of the largest private libraries in the state, he fairly revelled among his books. * * *

"Like Abou Ben Adhem, he loved his fellowmen. He loved his friends. No man had more than he. He was a man whom to know was to love. His attitude toward all was love, good will, a word of cheer and a helpful hand in times of need. He was especially helpful to the younger men who came into the profession.

"* * * He stood high in the educational councils of the nation. He had conferred upon him the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by two colleges the same year.

"He was a modest man, as we all know, and never sought the honors that came to him. He felt that the confidence, esteem, and high respect of his friends and co-workers were above all the outward honors of which he was the recipient." 47

Regarding this last trait, Samuel Findley, of Akron, then editor of the *Ohio Educational Monthly*, had this to say:

"He was a modest man. He even seemed at times to mistrust himself. He never pushed himself forward, but rather shrank from publicity and prominence. Though nearly always present at educational gatherings, he could rarely be

induced to take part in the discussions, except when a definite part had been previously assigned him. My impression is that it was this same shrinking from prominence and responsibility that led him to decline the superintendency of the Cleveland schools in 1867.”⁴⁸

R. W. Stevenson, who became Superintendent of Schools in Columbus in the same year that Mr. Harvey became State Commissioner, and who lived for a long time with him in the same hotel, says :

“His mind was judicial in its nature. In his opinions he was broad and generous on all subjects and treated justly and generously his opponents. He was naturally modest and retiring; but if wrong was done a friend or an opinion was expressed which in his judgment would do harm, he was never found in the background. When such occasions came in educational conventions, he was always courteous but keen and convincing.

“His speech generally settled the question under discussion. He was believed to be so intelligent, wise and honest in his views and actions on all educational subjects that when there was a difference of opinion, you would hear the expression, ‘I wonder what Mr. Harvey’s opinion on this question is.’ He was a leader without knowing it, and a scholar without pretension.

“* * * He was a gentleman by nature and by culture. No remarks however irritating could ruffle his temper. To Dr. Harvey the great commonwealth of Ohio owes a debt of gratitude she can never pay. There was no measure, political, educational or moral, which he did not advocate with power and eloquence for the welfare of the people. He was conservative, hence he was never in favor of the abolition of existing laws or methods in education till he was sure better could be substituted for them. Radical reformers received no sympathy; but when convinced that a change in a law was desirable, he of all men I ever knew had the greatest courage of his convictions.”⁴⁹

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We have more than a dozen eulogies of Mr. Harvey in the records of the memorial services that were held for him in the Northeastern and the Ohio Teachers' Associations. They vary greatly in detail according to the personal relationships that the various individuals had had with him, but all are of the same tenor. Perhaps, as is so often the case, they had not before properly recognized and voiced the sterling worth and valuable service of this unassuming man who had been going about among them for so many years, but they gave full expression to both in these gatherings. Superintendent Moulton very aptly summed up the feeling of all those who had worked with Mr. Harvey in the general advancement of the cause of education in Ohio when he very touchingly referred to him at the close of his address as "the grand old man' of our profession."⁵⁰

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FRANCES ELIZABETH WILLARD

EDUCATOR AND REFORMER

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was distinguished by an unprecedented interest in temperance reform throughout the United States. This movement, which began in Ohio, was greatly strengthened by the leadership and efforts of Frances E. Willard. To appreciate the underlying forces, one must, therefore, learn something of the life and character of this great and remarkable woman.

Frances E. Willard was born September 28, 1839 in Churchville, New York, being the daughter of Josiah and Mary (Hill) Willard. Her parents traced their ancestry back through several generations of New England stock. Her colonial paternal ancestor was Major Simon Willard, who in 1634 migrated from Horsmonden, Kent County, England to America and became one of the founders of Concord, Massachusetts. Among his descendants are two presidents of Harvard University, Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of Old South Church, Boston, and Solomon Willard the architect of Bunker Hill monument. Her grandfather, Oliver A. Willard, married Catherine Lewis, daughter of Captain James Lewis whose wife was Martha Collins of Southboro', Massachusetts and went immediately to Wheelock, Vermont where her father Josiah Flint Willard was born. The maternal grandparents of Miss Willard were Samuel and Abigail (Huchins) Hill of Lee, New Hampshire. Her mother's maternal grandfather was Nathaniel Thompson of Durham, New Hampshire who came from Scotland in 1619 and settled near Boston Harbor. Miss Willard in her autobiography acquiesces fully in her mother's analysis of her fortunate heredity:

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"The Thompson generosity, the Willard delicacy, the Hill purpose and steadfastness, the French element coming from the Lewis family, make up an unique human amalgam."¹

Both the parents had taught school successfully in New York State and being anxious to continue their studies they removed when Frances was two years old to Oberlin, Ohio, the seat of Oberlin College. After remaining here for five years her father's health requiring a change of climate to an outdoor occupation we find them journeying to Wisconsin and settling on a farm near Janesville. The picturesque dwelling "Forest Home" which they soon erected here she delightfully describes for us as follows:

"The bluffs, so characteristic of Wisconsin, rose about it on the right and left. Groves of oak and hickory were on either hand; a miniature forest of evergreens almost concealed the cottage from the view of passers-by; the Virginia creeper twined at will around the pillars of the piazza and over the parlor windows, while its rival, the Michigan rose, clambered over the trellis and balustrade to the roof. The air was laden with the perfume of flowers. Through the thick and luxuriant growth of shrubbery were paths which strayed off aimlessly, tempting the feet of the curious down their mysterious aisles."²

In this "Forest Home" of Wisconsin, Frances had a sane and healthy childhood. She and her brother and sister lived with the animals and raced and romped and played. She lived with the Bible and was early imbued with the ideals of a well regulated American family. Her mother, especially, sacrificed herself fully to her boy and girls. "I had ambitions," she said, "but I disappeared from the world that I might reappear at some future day in my children."³

Before the time of the building of the little brown schoolhouse

¹ *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 660.

² Gordon, Anna A. *Frances E. Willard*. p. 24.

³ *Ibid*, p. 25.

in the woods the children were taught by their mother and a governess in a schoolroom fitted up by their father in the home. So it was not until she was fourteen that Frances entered a real schoolhouse and with what ecstasy she entered she herself has told:

"It was a cold winter morning" she says, "when school opened. We two girls had risen long before light, because we couldn't sleep, and packed our little tin dinner pail . . . We hardly tasted our breakfast and were so uneasy that long before the time Loren yoked the big oxen to the long 'bob-sled', and he and Oliver carried us to school. The doors were not yet open, so we went to Professor Hodge's which was nearby, got the key, made the fire, and were the first to take possession."¹

One rainy Sunday when the family stayed from church and the time stretched out before her long and desolate she cried out in fretful tones: "I wonder if we shall ever know anything, see anybody or go anywhere?" "Why do you wish to go away?" asked Mary. "Oh, we must learn—must grow, and must achieve, it is such a big world that if we don't begin at it we shall never catch up with the rest."²

In her fifteenth year, Frances and her sister, entered a "select school" in Janesville, where Frances especially enjoyed Cutter's Physiology. In 1857, they attended the Milwaukee Female College, where their aunt, Miss Sarah Hill was Professor of History. Frances' ambition in these years pointed toward a literary career. On examination day she read an essay on "Originality of Thought and Action." That she put her own thoughts into action is evidenced by the fact that she edited the school paper and won a prize offered by the *Prairie Farmer* with an article on the "Embellishment of the Country Home."

¹ *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 245.

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The two sisters entered Northwestern Female College at Evanston, Illinois, in the spring of 1858. Here Frances became a leader in all her classes and by her originality, daring and personal charm she became a leader in the social life of the student body as well. She was editor of the college paper and first fun-maker of a lively clan whose chief delight was to shock some of their meek classmates out of their unthinking "goody-goodness." She was known, for instance, to have climbed into the steeple and to have remained on her giddy perch during an entire recitation period in higher mathematics.

In 1858, Mr. Willard removed to Evanston in order to be with his daughters while they were in college and here in 1866 he built "Rest Cottage" the home which continued to be the residence of the family.

Frances Willard's energy and ambition would not permit her to be idle. Even before her graduation from college she began teaching and for many years afterwards she devoted herself to this profession. In her autobiography she says:

"Between 1858 when I began and 1874, when I forever ceased to be a pedagogue, I had thirteen separate seasons of teaching in eleven separate institutions and six separate towns; my pupils in all numbering about two thousand. In my summer vacation at 'Forest Home,' 1858, I taught our district school; in my own home town of Evanston I taught the public school one term; in Harlem, two terms; in Kankakee Academy, one term; in my alma mater the Northwestern Female College, two; in Pittsburgh Female College, three; in the Grove School, Evanston, one year; in Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, at Lima, New York, three terms; the Evanston College for Ladies, two years; the "Woman's College," one year; and I was professor in the Northwestern University one [year]. Nor did I ever relinquish any of these situations save of my own free will, and in every case but one I had from the authorities a warm invitation to return." ¹

Glimpses of Fifty Years, p. 133.

Frances' sister Mary died in 1862. This loss appears to have greatly deepened her social and religious feeling. While teaching in the Pittsburgh Female College she showed most unusual powers and wrote a biography of her sister called, "Nineteen Beautiful Years," in which their childhood and home life is delightfully portrayed.

When another sorrow, her father's death in 1868 came upon her, a friend possessed of comfortable means came to her relief and took her abroad for two and one-half years. In her travels Miss Willard observed and studied, frequently writing home her experiences for the papers. During her stay abroad her attention was drawn to the distressing condition of women in the East and indeed in the greater part of Europe and she was led to ask "What can be done to make the world a wider place for women?" They went to Egypt, where Frances about to climb the pyramid of Cheops, confessed to a characteristic "secret determination to reach the top before any of my comrades"¹ which she did. At Jerusalem she recorded: "A day of unrivaled execution."²

On returning to America in 1870, Miss Willard took up life at "Rest Cottage" at Evanston with her mother. As she was nailing down a stair-carpet one day a professor's wife who was visiting in the home exclaimed, "Frank, I am amazed at you! Let someone else tack down carpets and you take charge of the new college." "Very well," answered Frank, "I shall be glad to do so. I was only waiting to be asked."³ Thus it came about that she was asked to take the presidency of the Evanston College for Ladies and accepted the invitation. She was the first woman to be elected president of a college. After two years, 1873, the col-

¹ *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 287.

² *Ibid*, p. 294.

³ *Ibid*, p. 198.

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lege united with Northwestern University, in which Miss Willard became Dean of Women and Professor of Aesthetics.

Some years before this she had been engaged to be married for the greater part of a year to a young theological student Charles H. Fowler who now became president of Northwestern University and later a bishop of the Methodist Church. Discovering in time that her feeling for him was not of the kind on which a marriage should be based she broke her engagement and within a year she wrote in her journal, "I am glad, heartily glad that I did not perjure myself in 1862."¹

In a sharp conflict over a matter of administration she resigned her deanship in June, 1874, and gave herself up to angry tears at the loss of her Adamless Eden and employing all her Christian fortitude stood ready without resentment for the next task. Her later explanation of the matter was this: "Dr. Fowler, the president of the institution has the will of Napoleon, I have the will of Queen Elizabeth. When one immovable body meets an indestructible object something has to give way."² It may have been just as well she did not become Mrs. Fowler.

She left this position with a remarkable record. She introduced an honor system among the girls by which each became guardian of the success and the good name of the school. "She believed in young girls," a friend reports, "trusted them, stood by them often when others condemned, and sought out those who were shy and retiring and had little confidence in themselves." Concerning her work as a teacher Miss Gordon writes:

"Were one to ask the salient features of her work as a teacher the reply would be, the development of individual character along intellectual and moral lines, the revelation to her pupils of their special powers and vocation as workers, her constantly recurring question being, not only, 'What are

¹ Howe, *Causes and Their Champions*, p. 105.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

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you going to be in the world?' but, 'What are you going to do?' " ¹

It is evident that Miss Willard did not give up her work at Northwestern to enter the temperance movement. The facts are that at the age of thirty-five she found herself out of work, the very work for which she seemed to be best fitted. Through study, travel and experience her life had been enriched, it seemed, for just such work. So tempting opportunities to continue teaching were opened to her but she chose another "open door."

In the meantime something remarkable had happened in Hillsboro, Ohio. Mrs. Eliza Thompson, a typical American woman had become a leader in a woman's revolt. Followed by seventy of her townsfolk she had led a "praying crusade" to every saloon and drinking place in Hillsboro where the men of the town were being degraded by liquor. This was the tiny spark that started the now historic conflagration for prohibition which swept over America "like a prairie fire." Gentle, homeloving women were rising as if by magic in town after town throughout the middle west and with great valor marched through the streets to the saloons that were ruining their husbands, sons, and brothers. They met with ridicule, insult, and sometimes assault, but they persisted.

When the news of the character and performance of this revival reached Frances Willard it must have revived in her the resolve she made when in Paris to study the "woman question" in relation to her own land and to fight with every weapon at her command, even to speak in public. It was on her thirtieth birthday that she prophetically wrote:

"I can *do* so much more when I go home, I shall have a hold on life and a fitness for it so much more assured. Per-

¹ Ward, *Our Famous Women*, p. 701.

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haps—who knows?—there may be noble, wide-reaching work for me in the years ahead.”¹

The time came when she had to make a choice. Two letters came on the same day. One asked her to assume the principalship of an important school in New York at a salary of \$2,400 a year; the other, begged her to take charge of the Chicago temperance work at no salary at all. This woman who was so well prepared for the first call accepted the second. Turning her back on a brilliant career and worldly success, she cast her lot with the most unpopular reform of the day. Frances E. Willard, the teacher, became the crusader. On being asked by one of her friends, “How can you think it right to give up your interest in literature and art?” Miss Willard replied, “What greater art than to try to restore the image of God to faces that have lost it?”²

On passing through Pittsburgh on her way home from an eastern visit in September, 1874, she participated for the first time in the pious raid of a “praying band” upon a local saloon. She describes it thus:

“The tall, stately lady who led us, placed her Bible on the bar and read a psalm. . . . Then we sang ‘Rock of Ages’ as I thought I had never heard it sung before, with a tender confidence to the height of which one does not rise in the easy-going regulation prayer-meeting, and then one of the older women whispered to me softly that the leader wished to know if I would pray. It was strange perhaps, but I felt not the least reluctance, and kneeling on that sawdust floor, with a group of earnest hearts around me, and behind them, filling every corner and extending out into the street, a crowd of unwashed, unkempt, hard-looking drinking men, I was conscious perhaps that never in my life, save beside my sister Mary’s dying bed, had I prayed as truly as I did then. This was my crusade baptism.”³

¹ Parkman, *Heroines of Service*, p. 108.

² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³ *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, pp. 340-341.

The next day she went on to Chicago and within a week had been made president of the Chicago Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Writing of it fifteen years later, she says:

"Instead of peace I was to participate in war; instead of sweetness of home . . . I was to become a wanderer upon the face of the earth; . . . but I have felt that a great promotion came to me when I was counted worthy to be a worker in the organized Crusade for 'God and Home and Native Land.'"¹

That she had her trials in her new work at Chicago will be seen from the following:

"Many a time I went without my noonday lunch down town because I had no money with which to buy, and many a mile did I walk because I had not the requisite nickel for street-car riding. But I would not mention money or allow it named to me. My witty brother Oliver, then editor of the 'Chicago Mail,' who with all his cares, was helping mother from his slender purse, and who had learned my secret from her, said, 'Frank, your faith-method is simply a challenge to the Almighty. You've put a chip on your shoulder and dared omnipotence to knock it off.' But for several months I went on in this way and my life never had a happier season. For the first time I knew the gnawings of hunger whereat I used to smile and say to myself, as I elbowed my way among the wretched people to whom I was sent, 'I'm a better friend than you dream; I know more about you than you think, for, bless God, I'm hungry too!'"²

In course of time, the women discovered that their leader did not have an independent income as they had thought and a sufficient salary was provided for her. But always she spent her money, as she had spent herself—to the utmost for her work.

¹ *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 342.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 343-344.

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From the outset of her Chicago work it was evident that a wider field of endeavor was awaiting her, and when the organizing convention of the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union was held in Springfield in October, 1874, she was elected to the office of corresponding secretary. When in November she helped to organize the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Cleveland she was elected to a like position. If she had not promptly refused to have her name used she undoubtedly would have been made president. In a resolution written by her and adopted by the convention the plainly religious purpose of the Union was defined:

"Resolved, That, recognizing our cause is and will be combatted by mighty, determined and relentless foes, we will, trusting in Him who is the Prince of Peace, meet argument with argument, misjudgment with patience, denunciation with kindness, and all our difficulties and dangers with prayer." ¹

Thus we find within a remarkably short time Miss Willard's guiding hand upon three distinctly important positions in local, state and national unions. So well did she discharge the duties of her offices that five years later, in 1879, she was elected to the presidency of the National Union. This position she held for nineteen fruitful years, until her death in New York, February 17, 1898. She founded the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1883 and for ten years preceding her death was also its president.

To narrate in detail the accomplishments of Frances E. Willard in her leadership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and its thousands of wearers of the White Ribbon would be indeed an overwhelming task. There is the pioneer work in the south and the far west; the visits to every province in Canada; the campaigns for constitutional amendments in the various states

¹ *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 350.

and laws requiring instruction regarding the injurious effects of alcohol and narcotics; the editorship of the "Union Signal"; and the heroic work for the Temple, the National Temperance Hospital, and the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association. These represent but a small part of the interests that pressed their claims upon her, in addition to almost continuous public speaking and an abundance of correspondence.

The girl who had lamented her fortune on the Wisconsin farm with the words: "I wonder if I shall ever know anything, see anything or go anywhere!"¹ came to see far beyond the common lot, and estimated her travels both at home and abroad as covering some quarter of a million miles. As a temperance advocate she spoke in every city in the United States numbering more than ten thousand inhabitants and in most of those above five thousand. She probably addressed a larger number of public audiences than any other person of her day. During a dozen years she averaged one meeting a day. In the course of a year she answered twenty thousand letters. The Polyglot Petition addressed to the governments of the world and calling for the prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic liquors as a drink, the prohibition of the opium traffic and all forms of legalized vice was signed by half a million citizens of the United States and by means of indorsements and attestations it included seven and a half million adherents in fifty different nationalities. The petition which was presented to President Cleveland actually contained a total of over a million mounted names which measured some five miles. On the principle that everything is not in Temperance Reform but that Temperance Reform should be in everything she adopted what was called her "Do Everything Policy" and espoused all sorts of reforms. "Everything," as Howe well says, "was on the heroic scale in size."²

¹ *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, p. 245.

² Howe, *Causes and Their Champions*, p. 111.

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That Miss Willard's efforts were responsible for securing the passage of laws in all the states in the Union, except Arkansas, Texas and Virginia, requiring instruction to be given in all public schools in physiology and hygiene with special reference to the injurious effects upon the human system of alcohol and narcotics is generally accepted. We find the National Education Association at its meeting held in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1884, adopting the first of a number of resolutions regarding temperance:

"The committee of temperance notes with profound satisfaction the practical direction now being given to the aroused temperance sentiment in this country. Especially do we rejoice in the well directed efforts of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to secure instruction in physiology and hygiene in all grades of the public school system, with particular reference to the effect of alcoholic stimulants upon the human system. Legislation to this effect has already been secured in five states—New York, Michigan, New Hampshire, Vermont and Rhode Island. We recommend the hearty co-operation of this Association in making such legislation general throughout the land."¹

The next year, 1885, at Saratoga Springs, New York, the National Education Association went on record as follows:

"Recognizing the value of all earnest and well-directed work for the formation and reformation of character, and realizing as part of this great work the importance of early training in habits of temperance and self-government it is,

"Resolved, That we approve the effort to create a strong public sentiment in favor of temperance, and that we heartily endorse all proper individual and legislative action looking toward the healthfulness, happiness and purity of the people."²

¹ *Proceedings, N. E. A. 1884*, p. 15.

² *Ibid*, 1885, p. 21.

Again in 1887 at Chicago: "That we recommend to the several state legislatures the adoption of laws:

"1. Requiring instruction to be given in all public schools in physiology and hygiene with special reference to the injurious effects upon the human system of alcohol and narcotics."¹

In the year 1886 at Topeka, Kansas, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster addressed the National Education Association on the subject of "Scientific Temperance Instruction in the Public Schools." Among other things she said:

"In the year 1880 the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union at the suggestion of Mrs. Mary H. Hunt of Boston, created the 'Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools and Colleges.' Mrs. Hunt was elected superintendent. She had been prominently connected with educational work, Professor of Natural Sciences in one of our colleges, a careful student of the scientific phases of the temperance question. She saw with prophetic eye, that if the children of the whole land can be taught in the public schools that alcohol is a poison, how, and why, the next generation will believe it too. For the terrible evils of intemperance she saw in that belief a remedy growing more and more powerful, as the army of children thus taught came forth from the schools into the ranks of men and women.

". . . The conviction thus grew upon Mrs. Hunt that as no study stays long in the public schools which is not required by law, if the children of the whole land are to learn in the public schools the evil effects of alcoholic drinks, this branch must be placed among the regular studies required by law to be taught to all pupils. Out of this conviction grew the methods of agitation and organization which have accomplished such sweeping and far-reaching results. * * *

"In June, 1886, after six months of the most unremitting toil in Washington with never ceasing aid from women in every state and territory in the Union, there was enacted by

¹ *Proceedings, N. E. A. 1887*, p. 47.

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the Congress of the United States and signed by the President, the best Temperance Education Law—because the most specific—ever enacted, requiring all pupils in all schools under Federal jurisdiction to be taught the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics.”¹

In the year 1890 at St. Paul, Frances E. Willard addressed the National Education Association on the subject of “The White-Cross Movement in Education” from which we quote the following:

“ . . . a sound, pure mind must have a pure, sound body in which to dwell.

“The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union impressed with this truth has, under the skilled leadership of Mrs. Mary H. Hunt secured laws in all but eleven states requiring specific instruction relative to the effect of narcotics and stimulants upon the human body, and has emphasized the importance of beginning this instruction in the primary grade. The National Education Association and the various state and local associations have been our chief coadjutors in this holy fight for a clear brain. You are daily helping to bring the ‘arrest of thought’ to millions of memories that are like ‘wax to receive and marble to retain’; working it into the warp and woof of youthful character that science is on the side of temperance reform; that each child should enact a prohibitory law for one—that one himself; declare that law constitutional in the supreme court of his own judgment and enforce it by the executive of his own will, worked as I believe that will to be in everything that is good and true, by the blessed will of God.

“Now let us broaden this teaching of the effects of stimulants upon the human body until it includes all those wholesome habitudes essential to the human physical well-being and moral education of the child, and a noble chastity lies at the very foundation of this teaching. . . .”²

¹ *Proceedings, N. E. A. 1886*, pp. 84-85, 100.

² *Ibid*, 1890, p. 168.

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So we find her taking an active part in securing anti-gambling and anti-cigarette laws, and laws for the protection of women and girls. Perhaps her greatest influence has been the instilling of ideals of temperance into the minds of the young people of our country thereby laying the foundation for the temperance movement which resulted in the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Albert J. Beveridge well says of her:

"No method can measure what she did. The half-million of women whom she brought into organized co-operation in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is but a suggestion of the real results of her activities. Indeed, the highest benefits her life bestowed were as intangible as air and as full of life. She made purer the moral atmosphere of a continent—almost a world. She rendered the people of a nation cleaner, the mind of a people saner. Millions of homes today are happier for her; millions of wives and mothers bless her; and countless children have grown into strong, upright and beautiful maturity; who but for the work of Frances E. Willard, might have been forever soiled and weakened."¹

Miss Willard believed that one should find out what they could do best and then work persistently at that one thing. Her conscience seems to have been the guiding star of her course in life for her genius and versatility would naturally have led her into many directions. Her keen power as a writer, her wonderful command of language, her keen literary judgments, and her fondness for literature and art evidence the fact that she could easily have distinguished herself in several fields of human endeavor.

Soon after her return from abroad she addressed a woman's missionary meeting in Chicago and a gentleman who was present was so much struck by her fitness as a public speaker that he

¹ Beveridge, *The Meaning of the Times*, p. 252.

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called on her the next day and urged that she develop this gift saying: "If you will within three weeks prepare a lecture on any subject you choose, I will present you with as fine an audience as can be got together in Chicago." He then gave her fifty dollars as prepayment. In commenting on the incident Miss Willard said:

"The proposition quite took my breath away, but I went at once and laid it before mother; she replied, 'By all means; my child, accept—enter every open door' and so I sat down and wrote a lecture on 'The New Chivalry', the substance of which was that the chivalry of the nineteenth century is not that of knights and troubadours, but the plain, practical chivalry of justice which gives to woman a fair chance to be all that God gave her power to be. In it I stated that my brother had just entered upon a theological course—just what his sister would have done if the world had not said 'No.'" This maiden effort was a vigorous protest against the hindrances in woman's way of advancement. "The lecture was ready," continued Miss Willard, "at the expiration of three weeks and with no manuscript visible I appeared before an elegant audience in Centenary Church. The manuscript was with me in portfolio ready for reference in case of failure; but I did not fail."¹

The lecture was received with such approbation that she received many invitations to speak and her career as a public speaker was fairly begun. Said Dr. C. J. Little regarding her ability in this respect:

"Frances Willard had the gift of eloquence. She was a subtle, thoughtful, thrilling talker. Her presence was not imposing, yet it was always tranquillizing at the beginning and afterward full of sweet surprises. Her voice was clear and melodious and strong, with a peculiar quality of blended defiance and deference, of tenderness and intrepidity, that gave it an indescribable ring. Her diction was studiously

¹ Ward, *Our Famous Women*, p. 702.

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simple, her reasoning luminous and homely, her illustrations full of poetry and humor, her pathos as natural as tears to a child. She was wholly unaffected, taking her audience so deftly into her confidence that she conquered them, as Christ conquers by self-revelation.”¹

Miss Willard was not only a gifted speaker, she was also a rare organizer and an untiring worker. The many hours spent on trains were devoted to making plans and preparing addresses. On a trip up the Hudson, while others were on deck enjoying the scenery Miss Willard remained in her cabin busy with pad and pencil. “I know myself too well to venture out” she said to a friend who had remonstrated with her. “There is work that must be done.”²

Her organizing ability was extraordinary. She was constantly developing methods of work and individual workers for the numerous departments of her great organization. Her assistants and helpers worked cheerfully and steadily under her wise direction. She had entire freedom from conceit and other forms of selfishness. She possessed fidelity, enthusiasm, simplicity, and sweetness of spirit. She was a great soul, and quickly recognized greatness of soul in others. If anyone had a good trait Miss Willard was sure to find it out. Such qualities render her preeminent and entitle her to wear the crown of leadership. She was not a hobbyist, nor a particle one-sided. She had consecrated unusual talent to a noble cause and worked persistently and consciously for it.

That Miss Willard was preeminently qualified for her work of leadership is well illustrated by the manner in which the South received her. Says Miss Sanborn:

¹ Hammell. *The Passing of the Saloon*, p. 159.

² Parkman. *Heroines of Service*, pp. 113-114.

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"She is a Northern temperance woman and a woman who addresses large audiences from platform and pulpit. This was something decidedly heretical, but clergymen of the most fastidious ideas, bishops who had hitherto agreed with Paul about woman's keeping silent in the churches, and cultivated Southern ladies who had been strongly secession in their sympathies during the war, all extended Miss Willard the most cordial greeting, and her visits to the South have been one long ovation. No money was asked for, no collections taken, but the people spontaneously anticipated all expenses. The best rooms at hotels, the best seat in the palace-car were generously given her. Miss Willard says: 'The people of highest social and religious standing rally to the cause with a gladness of heart which is good to see. They have received me as a sister, trusted and loved. Their hospitality is boundless. I am showered with invitations, and there are calls, flowers, dainties and drives with no limit but time to enjoy them. The Southern ladies take up these lines of work with a zeal and intelligence which I have never seen equalled.'"¹

As to how she reacted under censure and criticism the following extract from a letter reported by Miss Sanborn will throw some light:

"Am badgered to death and yet not worried a hair. What do you make of that? I fancy the explanation is, that unless I am an awfully deceived woman I am desirous of doing God's will, and so the clamor on this little footstool of His is like the humming of mosquitoes outside the curtain. It rather lulls me to quiet."²

The leadership of Miss Willard was threatened from within when she championed what was then anathema—woman suffrage, but the National Union soon adopted a suffrage plank. On her appearance before the Judiciary Committee of the National House of Representatives to present the petition of over thirty

¹ Ward. *Our Famous Women*, pp. 711-712.

² *Ibid.*, p. 714.

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thousand men and women for woman suffrage she made an address which was remarkable for its logic and eloquence. Upon closing she said:

"I thought I ought to have the ballot when I paid the hard-earned taxes on my mother's cottage home, but I never said as much—for though I honor those who speak in the name of justice, pure and simple, I never had the bravery to work along that line. For my own sake I had not courage, but for thy sake dear native land, I have. For love of the dear homes whose watch-fires are as beacon lights of heaven, for love of you, heart-broken wives, whose tremulous lips have blessed me; for you sweet mothers, who in the cradle's shadow kneel tonight beside your infant sons; and for you sorrowful little children who, with faces strangely old, listen tonight for him, whose footsteps frighten you, it is for love of you that I have dared to speak."¹

Miss Willard's early desire to become a celebrated person was abundantly gratified. There is no more striking proof of this than that she has been selected as one of the six women in America's Hall of Fame. The other women that have been so honored are Charlotte Cushman, actress; Mary Lyon, Educator; Maria Mitchell, Astronomer; Harriet Beecher Stowe, Novelist, and Emma Hart Willard, Educator.

In Statuary Hall at Washington among the statues of such leaders as Daniel Webster, Robert Fulton, Roger Williams and James A. Garfield, visitors note particularly the white marble statue of the one woman who has been honored by a place. When Illinois might have taken Grant, Douglas, Logan or even Lincoln as one of the two subjects representing that state it chose Frances E. Willard, the only woman so chosen by any state. On the base of the statue is carved her tribute to the work of women:

¹ Ward. *Our Famous Women*, pp. 710-711.

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"It is women who have given the costliest hostages to fortune. Out into the battle of life they have sent their best beloved, with fearful odds against them. By the dangers they have dared; by the patient hours of waiting over the beds where helpless children lay; by the incense of ten thousand prayers wafted from their gentle lips to heaven, I charge you to give them power to protect along life's treacherous highway those whom they have loved."¹

In presenting the statue to the nation Mr. Foss, who represented Miss Willard's own district in Illinois closed his address with these words:

"Frances E. Willard once said: 'If I were asked what was the mission of the ideal woman, I would say, It is to make the world more homelike.' Illinois, therefore, presents this statue not only as a tribute to her whom it represents—one of the foremost women of America—but as a tribute to woman and her mighty influence upon our national life; to woman in the home; to woman wherever she is toiling for the good of humanity; to woman everywhere who has ever stood 'For God, for home, for native land.'"²

All of Frances E. Willard's life was given to education of the highest type—the first period to actual classroom instruction and the last and greater part to teaching through organization, pulpit, platform and press. She was a teacher *par excellence*, and her state and nation have done well in paying her every possible honor. The death of Frances E. Willard occurred about twenty years too early for her to see the achievement of national prohibition and woman suffrage—the two objectives that were nearest to her heart and to which she applied so well her extraordinary powers. These two objectives she considered one and inseparable. How happy she would have been to have lived another score of years

¹ Hammell, *The Passing of the Saloon*, p. 161.

² Parkman, *Heroines of Service*, p. 115.

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to witness their accomplishment may be gathered from the following quotation:

"It is good not to have been born earlier than the nineteenth century; and, for myself, I could have rested content until the twenty-fifth, by which date I believe our hopeful dawn of reason, liberty, and worship will have grown to noonday."¹

¹ Ward, *Our Famous Women*, pp. 714-715.

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WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS

TEACHER, ADMINISTRATOR, PHILOSOPHER AND WRITER

It may be somewhat unjust to name a period for one man when there were so many others who contributed to the progress of education during the same years and yet a biography of William Torrey Harris records so much of American education from 1870 to 1906 that one seems justified to use his name to represent the last quarter of the nineteenth century period in American education. Probably no American public school administrator with the possible exception of Horace Mann has commanded the respect in official circles throughout the world to such an extent as Dr. Harris. Truly he was a leader among leaders.

William Torrey Harris was born of New England stock September 10, 1835, at North Killingly, Connecticut, being the son of William and Zilpah (Torrey) Harris. His father was a farmer in comfortable circumstances. His paternal ancestor was Thomas Harris, who in 1630 sailed from Bristol, England, with Roger Williams, landed at Salem, Massachusetts, and in 1637 settled at Providence, Rhode Island. His maternal grandparents were William and Zilpah (Davidson) Torrey, the former a descendant of William Torrey, a native of Combe, St. Nicholas, Somersetshire, England, who migrated in 1640 and settled at Weymouth, Massachusetts.

The story of Dr. Harris' life is, like the story of many a great life simple, yet profound and significant. After attending the Connecticut rural schools and several academies he completed his preparation for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, and entered Yale in 1854. Here he stayed for two and one-half years making an unusually brilliant record. Becoming dissatisfied with

the course because of his desire for greater freedom to pursue the natural sciences he withdrew during the middle of his junior year and went to St. Louis, Missouri. Concerning his education he himself says:

"As my ancestry on my mother's side included clergymen in its two chief branches, and as my great grandfather on my father's side was a metaphysician as well as a physician and surgeon, I suppose it possible that I had some inherited aptitude for abstract studies, which accounts for my great delight in grammar while a youth, and for a still keener relish for philosophic studies in later life. I seemed to find an intellectual food in these things which perfectly satisfied a gnawing hunger."¹

With reference to his life at Phillips Academy, Andover, he writes:

"I had never before met a disciplinary force that swept me completely off my feet and overcame my capricious will. My intellectual work had been all haphazard, a matter of mere inclination. I now began to hear a great deal about mental discipline and to see manly industry. I took myself to studying in earnest, and tried to see how many hours of persistent industry I could accomplish each day. In my short stay at Andover I gained more than at any other school, and have always highly revered its discipline and instruction."²

Of his work at Yale he says:

"There was a written examination at the close of each term, for which preparation must be made by private reviews. To be able to go over one's entire work for the term in two or three days of study, brought into discipline a new power, usually called the power to 'cram.' Of all my school disciplines I have found this one of the most useful. The ability to throw one's self upon a difficulty with several times

¹ "How I Was Educated," *The Forum*, Vol. I, August, 1886, p. 556.

² *Ibid.*, p. 559.

one's ordinary working power is required again and again in practical life on meeting any considerable obstacles." ¹

As to his withdrawal from Yale he states:

"I began to disparage the study of Latin and Greek as dead languages. Language itself was 'only an artificial product of the human mind.' I wished to know nature. This thought came to possess me more and more until it finally overmastered me. About the middle of the junior year I withdrew from my connection with the college, full of dissatisfaction with its course of study, and impatient for the three 'moderns'—modern science, modern literature and modern history." ²

At another place, however, we find him paying tribute to his Latin and Greek in the following language:

"I soon discovered that my slender knowledge of Latin and Greek was my chief instrument in the acquirement of new ideas. I found that the words in the English language which are used in the expression and communication of general ideas are derived almost entirely from the classic languages. Knowing the literal meaning of the roots I was able to get the full force of the English vocabulary used for science and real thought. Some years afterward, too, I came upon a more important insight. I saw that our entire modern civilization is derivative, resting on the Greek for its aesthetic and scientific forms and on the Roman for the forms of its political and legal life." ³

Soon after his arrival in St. Louis, Dr. Harris took up the profession of teaching, first as a tutor in a private family and then as a teacher of shorthand. In 1857 he became associated with the public schools of St. Louis as an assistant in the Franklin School; in 1858 he became principal of the Clay School; in

¹ "How I Was Educated", *The Forum*, August, 1886, p. 560.

² *Ibid.*, p. 500.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 560-61.

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1867 he was appointed assistant superintendent of schools and later in the same year, city superintendent of schools which position he held with distinction until 1880.

It was Dr. Harris who attracted the attention of educators both at home and abroad to the school system of St. Louis. His reputation as a school administrator was not confined to the United States alone. His writings on education were extensive, profound and widely read. He held that school work should be based upon psychological, sociological and philosophical principles. In his administration of the schools of St. Louis he was guided largely by thought rather than by tradition. During the thirteen years that he was superintendent the schools were organized into a really efficient, unified system and came to be recognized as occupying first rank among the city schools of America. His system provided a complete educational ladder from the kindergarten through the public high school. He formulated curricula for each rung of the ladder and suggested the methods of instruction to be used. He drew many educational specialists and experts into the system including such persons as Blewett, Blow, Morgan and Soldan.

Through the efforts of Dr. Harris the first public kindergarten was established by Miss Susan Blow in St. Louis in 1873. A few private kindergartens had been established elsewhere but they had done little more than to serve as examples of what could be done. The Des Peres school kindergarten was the first one to be organized but others were opened up as rapidly as competent teachers could be prepared at Miss Blow's training school. The enterprise at St. Louis attracted wide attention and soon other cities established kindergartens as a part of their public school systems. Many of these schools were aided by private philanthropy and some depended in part upon tuition but they grew in favor rapidly and soon became generally accepted as a regular division of the public schools.

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In the *Annual Report of the Superintendent of St. Louis Schools, 1870-71*, Dr. Harris after discussing the desirability of getting children in school before the age of seven refers thus to the kindergarten:

"The Kindergarten system of culture for the young is justly receiving much attention from educators everywhere. To it we must look for valuable hints on the method of conducting our instruction in the lowest primary grades."

In the report for 1871-72 he says:

"I hope another year will witness the formation of a sufficient number of primary schools—founded more or less on the Kindergarten plan—to accommodate all the localities situated near the river and in our manufacturing districts. A genuine Kindergarten, as an experiment, would furnish additional hints to our teachers, and suggestions to the Board enough to doubly repay the cost of support."

Regarding the actual beginning of the work he has the following to say in the report of 1875-76:

"The offer of Miss Susan E. Blow to undertake gratuitously the instruction of one teacher appointed by the Board, and to supervise and manage a Kindergarten provided the Board would furnish the rooms and a salaried teacher, was accepted August 26th, 1873, and Miss Mary A. Timberlake, one of the primary teachers, was assigned to a room in the new building of the Des Peres School set apart for the experiment. Under the enthusiasm and eminent practical sagacity of Miss Blow the Kindergarten soon developed surprising results"¹

Doctor Harris also has the distinction of putting manual training into the public schools. As early as 1868 manual training was taught in the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute under the supervision of the St. Louis School Board. A little work in man-

¹ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of St. Louis Schools, 1875-76*, pp., 80-82.

ual training had been done previously in this country but rather as something extra than as a regular phase of education. In Europe this work had been carried on for several years. This type of work made a strong appeal to pupils and it opened up a field of interest to many pupils who would find little of value in the older types of studies. In a short time it spread to other cities. Before long it began to appear also in the elementary schools. In the annual report for the year 1874-75 is found the following:

"The endowment of the library to the amount of \$6,000 per annum, and the obligation to 'establish permanently, for the special benefit of those engaged in or preparing for mechanical or other industrial pursuits, a school in which are taught elementary and preparatory branches of polytechnic or technological instruction' are derived from the bond of agreement with the Washington University made and entered into on the occasion of the transfer of the Polytechnic Building to the School Board. The pupils of the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute are by this arrangement counted as a part of the Washington University, although the entire management of the school is in the hands of the School Board."¹

Regarding the teaching of manual training Dr. Harris in the report for 1870-71 says:

"That productive industry is the instrument of Democracy there can be no doubt. Whenever machinery saves hands from drudgery, it elevates and frees the laborer. The democratic idea of civilization sends forward as its advance guard the legions in productive industry, and covers its flanks with the all-powerful engines of inter-communication—the railroad, the steamship, the telegraph.

"But if the ruling classes of society are impelled by a desire to continue in power, to furnish to the people education of an industrial kind only, they certainly mistake the means of

¹ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools of St. Louis, 1874-75*, p. 104.

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realizing their purposes. It is not by such means, that the monarchical idea can be preserved and defended much longer. Man will not submit to be educated simply as a director of machinery and instrumentalities of industry. He soon aspires to direct himself and to be self-governed. . . . Not only mechanical directive power shall be taught in the people's schools, but also spiritual directive power."¹

Under the influence of Dr. Harris an important change was made from the scattered object lessons on all types of scientific subjects to a much more logically organized study of the different sciences. Dr. Harris published in 1871 an extremely well organized course of study for the orderly study of the different sciences, and one thoroughly characteristic of his logical, meta-physical mind. This type of course of study was widely copied and became very popular in our schools for the next generation. It did much to introduce science instruction into our schools. Oral lessons in physiology were given in 1869 in all the grades of the schools in St. Louis.

With reference to the Pestalozzian object teaching of the day Dr. Harris refers to it as follows in the annual report of 1867-68:

"The startling object arouses the attention only while it is new; so soon as it becomes familiar it becomes monotonous. Thus Pestalozzi found his pupils continually falling into more parrot-like repetition or imitation. Habit is death to free spontaneous action, but it also is the form that all subordinate action must take. The life of the spirit must be indicated by its spontaneity manifesting itself on continually higher planes, like the plant which continually transcends its last year's growth and leaves it to become mere deadwood, while the sap circulates in a new system of cells, and the tree shows its vitality by a new growth of leaves and saplings."²

¹ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools of St. Louis, 1870-71*, p. 93.

² *Ibid*, 1867-68, p. 93.

Referring again to object lessons in the report of 1870-71 he says :

"For several years object lessons have been used to some extent by our teachers. Last year oral lessons in physiology were given in all grades. Upon the adoption of the course of study in Natural Science these lessons have been confined to the hour given in that course and brought in as one of the means of giving zest and interest."

"In 1865 at the meeting of the National Teachers' Association Mr. J. L. Pickard, Superintendent of the schools in Chicago, made a report on this subject, pointing out in a clear manner the benefits and dangers of such lessons. He said: 'I fear that Object teaching, as generally conducted, looks rather to immediate than to less showy and more valuable results. Its tendency, unless very carefully checked, is to make children passive recipients while teachers talk more than they instruct. Carefully used, it will awaken to new thought, and will encourage to the mastery of difficulties suggested or rather thrown in the way of pupils. But only master-minds can use it.'"¹ * * *

"It was clearly seen that the problem demanded an introduction of a popular course of instruction in natural science in such a way as to react beneficially not only upon the pupil's progress in the regular course, but also upon the teacher's methods and practical skill in imparting information."²

As opposed to the oral method of instruction Dr. Harris preferred the text-book method. The advantages of the text-book method are presented as follows :

"It has the advantage of making one independent of his teacher; you can take your book wherever you please. You cannot do that with the great lecturer, neither can you question him as you can the book, nor can you select the time for hearing the great teacher talk as you can for reading the book. And it is true that nearly all the great teachers have embodied their ideas in books. The greatest danger of text-

¹ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools of St. Louis 1870-71*, p. 187.

² *Ibid*, p. 173.

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book education is verbatim, parrot-like recitation; but even here from the poorest text-book a great deal of knowledge can be gleaned. Then there is the alertness which in any large class will necessarily be engendered by an intelligent understanding and criticism of the results arrived at by different pupils in discussing a certain piece of work given in his own words. And there is the advantage to be found in the fact that with the text-book the child can be busy by itself.”¹

Assistant Superintendent Louis Soldan in the report of 1870-1871 gives ten pages of explanation to the Grube method of teaching arithmetic which was being used in St. Louis. This explanation was republished in many states from New England to California and set up a new procedure for teachers of primary arithmetic everywhere. By 1885 even the rural schools had adopted the Grube idea and it is only since 1900 that we have turned back to the ideas of Pestalozzi as represented in Colburn’s arithmetic and its modern successors.

In the report of 1870-71 Superintendent Soldan in his discussion of the teaching of Arithmetic writes as follows:

“In my former report, I spoke of A. W. Grube’s method of primary instruction in Arithmetic as worthy of consideration and trial. It has now been in operation in a number of our schools for more than a year and has produced excellent results. The testimony of principals and teachers still further strengthens my conviction, that it is advisable to give the method a general trial. To facilitate this I give an outline of it taken partly from ‘Grube’s Guide for Primary Instruction in Arithmetic.’”²

It will be readily seen that Doctor Harris was one of the educational “progressives” of his time, yet he would hardly be classed

¹ *Lectures on the Philosophy of Education, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Supplementary Notes, Eleventh Series, 1893, pp. 269-277.*

² *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools of St. Louis, 1870-71, pp. 123-133.*

as a radical. He incorporated into his educational outlook much material from currently accepted doctrines of Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel. Among the practices which he fostered in addition to those referred to above the following may be mentioned: Public supported high schools; compulsory education; delegation of authority to co-workers; plans for grading and promoting of pupils; classification of pupils; caring for the health of children through better hygienic conditions, recesses and physical exercises; the proper length of school sessions; moral instruction; and co-education of the sexes.

Soon after his arrival in St. Louis Dr. Harris met a number of German refugees who were deep students of German idealistic philosophy. He became intensely interested in the study of Kant, Fichte and Hegel and was soon recognized as the leading expositor of Hegelianism in America. In an article on the books that had helped him he refers as follows to Hegel's *Logic*:

"This work of Hegel's comes nearer to being a genuine theodicy, a justification of Providence in human history, than any other work I know. 'The world-history,' says he, 'is the onward progress of man into consciousness of freedom.'"¹

Of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* he states in the same article:

"I was gradually training my feeble thinking powers and soon after I had devoted a year to the 'Critique' I broke through its shell and began to reach its kernel. It formed a real epoch in my life. It seemed to me that I had just begun to find life worth living. The year seemed so eventful to me that I was accustomed to say, 'I have made an intellectual step this year as great as the whole step from birth up to the time I began to study Kant.'"²

The influence of his study of philosophy is stated thus by Dr. Roberts:

¹ "Books That Have Helped Me." *The Forum*, April, 1887, p. 149.

² *Ibid*, p. 147.

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"In his study of philosophy, he formed the habit of deducing the practical applications of philosophical theories to political, social and educational problems, of viewing current questions and practices in the light of philosophical ideas and of applying philosophical ideas to the solution of practical problems. This mode of thought was applied by him with the keenest interest to the field of education."⁸

On the appearance of Spencer's *First Principles* in 1862 Dr. Harris wrote a review of it but being unable to find a magazine to accept it he founded and edited from 1867 to 1893 the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. This was the most important undertaking in philosophy up to that time. The twenty-two volumes of this quarterly that appeared attracted the attention of the greatest European thinkers. Arthur Balfour the great English statesman, who is a philosopher as well, in pointing out to an American visitor these volumes on his shelves said that no one in England could have produced them. Considering philosophy as the most practical of subjects he interpreted every question, whether of education, art, religion, science or politics in the light of its standards, for, as he said, "the test of any system of philosophy is the account it gives of the institutions of civilization." In this periodical he planned to present the noblest thoughts of the greatest philosophers of the world, to show their applications and to interpret them in the light of their adequacy or inadequacy.

In 1880 Dr. Harris severed his connections with the schools of St. Louis and after spending several months in European travel, settled in Concord, Massachusetts. He purchased the old Nathaniel Hawthorne residence next to A. Bronson Alcott and near that of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Having an idea that New England, especially Concord would highly appreciate him and his

⁸ *William Torrey Harris*. Roberts, pp. 1-2.

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Hegelian philosophy, he founded the Concord School of Philosophy and Literature. The purpose of the school was to advance and diffuse philosophical and literary culture by means of conferences and conversations. It was designed to bring together some of the leading minds of the country who desired to pursue speculative philosophy. Dr. Harris had associated with him such persons as A. B. Alcott, F. B. Sanborn, R. W. Emerson and H. K. Jones. The founders of the school built a plain board shack on the side of the hill in Alcott's yard. A few, very few persons, tried to listen to the metaphysical lectures in that plain building on the hillside. The whole thing was short lived and for many years no one could say "Concord School of Philosophy" with a sober face. Neither Concord nor New England had met the expectations of Dr. Harris.¹

In the National Education Association, Dr. Harris saw a way to exemplify his sociological idea of progress by participation. He took an active part in its work and from 1870 to 1906 was one of its most influential members. In 1875 he was its president. He was a frequent speaker at the annual meetings of the association and at the meetings of the Department of Superintendence. He was a member of the Committee of Fifteen and chairman of the Subcommittee on Correlation of Studies. He wrote most of the reports of this subcommittee.

The report of the Committee on Correlation of Studies embodied a consistent and fairly complete philosophy of education with numerous specific applications suited to the American school situation of the time. It makes explicit its own presuppositions to an extent rarely met in American educational literature. While we must credit Dr. Harris with pioneering in the direction of social emphasis in education, we must recognize the limitations of

¹ Cf. "Friends and Acquaintances: William Torrey Harris." A. E. Winship, *Journal of Education*, May 28, 1925, pp. 603-607.

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his views as to how it is to be accomplished. Aside from literature this report puts reliance for civic education almost entirely on political history and geography. The elementary school is to use American history to 1789. All American history within a hundred years of the date of writing is excluded, because it has not yet assumed "classic" proportions and so is not suitable for school use. The story ends with the formation of the constitution. Then there is to be "study of the outline of the constitution for ten or fifteen weeks in the final year of the elementary school." The ideal of human geography is one that would hardly require revision now. The main theme here is economics. High school history is to be "World History."¹

One of Dr. Harris' earnest desires was to improve the standard of education and the character of reading of teachers and superintendents. He constantly urged upon them the value of becoming acquainted with the highest ideals of the race as expressed by the greatest writers in all fields. To realize this purpose he planned the International Education Series. He wrote prefaces for each of the first 58 volumes. At the publication of the first volumes in 1886 little educational literature was available in America. Dr. Harris thus rendered a real service to education and educators.

When asked in 1889 by his friends if he would accept the position of Commissioner of Education under the administration of President Harrison he replied:

"Yes, but I cannot do anything or have it done for me, because I do not believe in the high tariff on works of art the Republicans have adopted, and although a Republican I did not vote for President Harrison."

¹ "Report of the Subcommittee on the Correlation of Studies in Elementary Education," *Educational Review*, Vol. IX, March 1895, pp. 230-289.

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Later when offered the position by President Harrison he told the President the same thing. But the President said:

"Dr. Harris that makes no difference, the educators of the country want you as Commissioner of Education."¹

Under Dr. Harris the Office of Education was destined to achieve a prestige which it had not previously known. During his long administration of seventeen years Dr. Harris emphasized the aim of education as a process of conscious evolution and the only reliable agency by which man may work out his destiny in harmony with the will of the Divine Being. Accordingly, he put much emphasis upon the necessity of the study of philosophy as a basic subject. He was generally regarded as a leader of the movement to reject the old psychology—the so-called faculties of the mind—and to develop a new psychology based upon child study.

Doctor Harris was convinced that much progress could be made through the study of comparative education and accordingly fostered compilation and publication of monographs on the educational systems of foreign countries. His conception of the purpose of the Office of Education is thus summed up by him:

"The legitimate function of the Bureau of Education is the collection and distribution of educational information. Each place should know the fruits of experience in all other places. A national bureau should not merely collect the statistics of education in the several states, but should also study the systems established by the various nations of Europe and Asia. Doubtless each nation has devised some kind of discipline, some course of study, which will train the children of its schools into habits in harmony with its laws. An investigation of these features in view of the obvious de-

¹ Cf. "Friends and Acquaintances: William Torrey Harris." A. E. Winship, *Journal of Education*, May 28, 1925, pp. 603-607.

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mands of the government forms will furnish us with a science of comparative pedagogy.”¹

It was during Dr. Harris' administration that European systems of education were thoroughly and systematically studied and evaluated, not only from the historical, but from the practical viewpoint. In his first annual report, 1888-89, he presented a comparative study of the educational systems of the United States, Germany, France and Italy, illustrated with statistical graphs. From that period to the present time the administration changes and pedagogical movements in foreign countries have been stressed in publications by the Office of Education.

Roberts pays Dr. Harris a great tribute when speaking of great idealistic philosophers such as Socrates, Plato, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Rosencranz and others:

“They were thinkers, deep, mighty thinkers—He, too, was a deep mighty thinker and had studied and absorbed their teachings.”²

So it was that Dr. Harris with his keen philosophical study brought a broad and deep experience to bear in his educational dealings and activities. His annual reports as superintendent of schools in St. Louis have been spoken of as representing the “high water mark” of city reports.³ Those reports reflected his insight into educational philosophy and practice.

There is evidence of Dr. Harris' intellectual power on every hand. The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1907 gives a list of the writings of Dr. Harris. The list numbers 479 titles and covers almost thirty pages of the report. His activities in this respect are extraordinary as to quantity, quality and as to variety of subjects. He has dealt with practically every signifi-

¹ *Report, Bureau of Education, 1888-89*, Vol. I, p. XIX.

² *William Torrey Harris*, Roberts, p. 6.

³ *Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol. III, p. 220.

cant educational issue of his day. They represent subjects as diverse as "Hegel's First Principle"; "Manner of Conducting Recitations"; "Philosophy in Europe"; "German Reform in American Education"; "Music as a Form of Art"; "Birds'-eye View of the St. Louis Public Schools"; "Education in the State of Missouri"; "Thoughts on the History of Education"; "The Science of Education"; "Thoughts on the Basis of Agnosticism"; "Relation of the Art to the Science of Education". This great variety of subjects does not represent superficiality in thinking or in writing. He brought to the consideration of any and every subject, the thoroughness of a well trained mind. He gave to each detail of the problem before him the power and insight that comes from ordered thinking. Thus his conclusions were reached justly, wisely and soundly.

He was the author of *The Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divina Comedia*; *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*; *Hegel's Logic*; *Psychologic Foundations of Education*; *A Book on the Genesis of the Categories of the Mind*; and chapters on the philosophy of A. Bronson Alcott in Sanborn's *Memoirs of A. Bronson Alcott*. In addition to editing the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* and the *International Educational Series* he was chief editor of *Appleton's School Readers*, editor of the Department of Philosophy in *Johnson's Cyclopedia* and editor-in-chief of *Webster's International Dictionary*.

Dr. Harris' most notable contribution to Philosophy was his critical exposition of *Hegel's Logic* written for Grigg's *Philosophic Classics*. The keynote of his insight is the doctrine of "self-activity." He did not enunciate any new principles of philosophy but laid emphasis on "self-activity" as did Plato and Aristotle, so he is not regarded as a creative thinker. He played the role of disciple, of preacher and of educator. His indebtedness to Hegel, who was for Harris the great master, is very

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marked at nearly every point. He was, however, very influential in encouraging an interest in philosophy in this country.

The doctrine of the "self-active" being the basis of Dr. Harris' philosophy of education, to him the universe was not directed by "a blind unconscious force" but by a divine reason, mind. Man is a self-active entity, the master of his own fate and not the "idle sport of chance called into being by the fortuitous collocation of atoms." "All below man pass away and do not retain individuality. Man is self-determining as an individual, and hence includes in his own development within himself as individual and hence is immortal and free."¹

According to Dr. Harris the purpose of education is to prepare the individual to understand the view of the world held by his civilization; to put him into possession of the wisdom of the race; to cultivate character, spirituality and the social ideal; it consists not merely in training in taking care of the body and in the performance of the lower social functions of preparing food, clothing and shelter although these play considerable importance in the general rounding out of man.

Dr. Harris was a voracious reader. Of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* he said:

"I endeavor to re-read *Wilhelm Meister* every year and always find it more suggestive than before. It has increased my practical power ten-fold."²

Carlyle's *French Revolution* and *Frederick the Great* he pronounced to be the greatest epics since Homer's *Illiad*. He was a devoted reader of Sir Walter Scott's novels but proclaimed Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*, the greatest work of fiction of the nineteenth—perhaps of any century.

¹ *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Vol. 17, p. 307.

² "Books That Have Helped Me." *The Forum*, April, 1887.

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One of the most inspiring of his works is *The Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divina Comedia*. Of this poem he says:

"Of all the great world poems unquestionably Dante's *Divina Comedia* may be justly claimed to have a spiritual sense, for it possesses a philosophic system and admits of allegorical interpretation. It is *par excellence* the religious poem of the world."¹

But it was not through books alone that Dr. Harris satisfied his spiritual hunger. In the Chautauquan during 1881-1882 he published his scholarly treatise on *Christianity in Art*, which is a discussion of the nature of art and its five special forms—architecture, sculpture, painting, music and poetry. He gives most consideration to the field of painting as the chosen field of romantic art. He declares that the "Last Judgment" of Michael Angelo, after two years of study in an outline engraving, began to have a prominent meaning for him. He says:

"I saw that the picture presented symbolically the present condition of the saints and sinners, not as they seem to themselves and others, but as they are in very truth. It placed them under the form of eternity."²

To interpret and appreciate the writings of Dr. Harris the student must have in mind the most important truths of the great idealistic philosophers. Their views of the world are the views accepted by him. He was just as familiar, however, with the writings of other philosophers and attempted to point out the fallacies of the mechanistic writers. He was the constant and bitter foe of those philosophers whose theories led, in his opinion, to materialism, pantheism, agnosticism and atheism. He sought to learn the deepest thoughts of the greatest workers in all fields,

¹ "Books That Have Helped Me." *The Forum*, April, 1887.

² *The Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divina Comedia*, Harris, p. VI.

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to understand the beginning and interrelation of ideas, to distinguish between those doctrines that were transient and those that were fundamental and everlasting. He tried to apply what he considered the basic truths to all forms of human life and civilized institutions.

God, freedom and immortality lay at the basis of his philosophy. Looking at the world from the mountain peaks of Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Hegel, he saw an ordered universe, all things related and the prime business of education to help each new immortal being to realize his relations to the creator and his universe and to civilization which mind has created.

The idea of selfactivity is the key to the understanding of Dr. Harris' views. He condemned any method that prevents the growth of higher forms. The extreme manifestation of individualism and license which would overthrow the deep-rooted institutions of civilization by insisting on the Rousseau idea of return to nature, Dr. Harris felt, threw aside the treasured inheritance from the best minds of the ages and tended to restore barbarism and anarchy. He looked upon education as preserving and interpreting institutions while developing them as new conditions arose. He continually emphasized the function of society, and he for a time helped to put into a subordinate place the extreme claims of individualistic theories. He saw education as a social function and felt that the school should be closely related to the home, the church and the state. The child must first of all be fitted to take his place in the great institutions which mind has created and is still further developing.

The question of content of what is read and taught he held to be fundamental. He demanded gems of literature instead of the crude and unrelated matter of the older reading books. He laid great stress on language work; he opposed the memorizing of unrelated facts and showed the need of tracing cause and effect in the study of science and history.

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He examined each subject from the view of a central, organizing principle and saw its relation to society and the individual. Dr. Harris used his philosophy in solving practical problems. The application of fundamental principles he recognized must be varied as civilization advances. He laid great stress on the value of Hegel's philosophy as explaining and justifying institutions. Hegel asks:

"What is nature? What is man? What is the world?" and his answer is,

"The world is the process of the evolution and perfection of immortal souls; the history of the human race exhibits the progress of souls into the consciousness of freedom; the philosophy and history of art show us how each people has succeeded in realizing for itself in sensuous forms the ideals of its civilization; the philosophy and history of religion is an account of the dogmas and ceremonial forms in which each people has celebrated its solution of the deepest problem, that of the origin and destiny of human beings; the philosophy and history of jurisprudence and political constitutions is an exposition of the devices invented by—to secure freedom to the individual by the return of his deed upon him, and these devices are a series of statutory and fundamental laws progressing from the form of absolute despotism and slavery up to the constitutional form of government that defines the law for the governing class as well as for the governed class; the history of philosophy shows us the extent to which each people in the persons of the deepest thinkers has become conscious of the elements of its problems and their solution; logic is the science of the principles, method, and system of what is universal in thought and it unfolds or defines and criticizes all the elements of thought, from the simplest, shallowest, and most rudimental up to the richest, most comprehensive and luminous idea to which philosophy has attained."¹

¹ *Hegel's Logic*, Harris, p. 18.

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Dr. Harris found in all phenomena mental equivalents. To him matter was the manifestation of spirit. "Thought alone". Dr. Harris said, "makes life valuable and has power to protect and preserve it."¹ To him the highest form of self-activity in man is reason which transcends the world of experience and understanding and synthetically gives order and system to judgment of the understanding. It goes beyond the objects of sense to the idea of a first cause.² Dr. Harris held that reason is not controlled by physical laws but is absolutely free. He opposed the doctrine that the strongest motive governs the will. He held a motive to be an ideal, a purpose, a design which contains the idea of what does not yet exist, and is itself the product of self-activity. When it becomes real by action of the will it is no longer a motive.

Dr. Harris attempted to harmonize the antithetical methods of obtaining knowledge through the activity of the reason and the modern view that thought is brought into intimate relations with all physical and social activities. The whole question of emphasis on subjects and methods of teaching depends upon the point of view taken, be it that of empiricist or that of idealist.

One of Dr. Harris' contributions to philosophy and psychology was his analysis of the syllogism involved in sense perception. He showed that perception is not mere seeing but is the interpretation of the thing seen in the light of past experience. He understood clearly the importance of apperception in perception and subordinated sense perception and mechanical memory to thoughtful memory and reason.

Dr. Harris held that a concept is not a mental image; that they are not general notions arising through abstractions from many particulars. According to Dr. Harris, concepts are closely related

¹ *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Vol. 6, p. 5.

² *Psychologic Foundations of Education*, Harris, Vol. 27, p. 227.

to the great constructive or destructive forces which are shown in the processes of the world. The processes abide while their products come into being and pass away.¹ They represent the history of things; they arise through an attempt to go over in the mind "the real process in which things are explained by our experience".² Experience can inform us only that something *is*—not that it *must* be. Things must be thought of as specimens or representatives of a (real) class which is generalized in a definition, which states the "cause-that-produces-this-kind-of-appearances".³ The concept is the definition. Here Dr. Harris agreed with the theories of Plato and Aristotle in preference to the theory of nominalism.

He was among the ablest of men yet was also among the humblest. He knew that compared with ordinary men he was able. But he did not so compare himself but rather with the unmeasured pillars, and therefore he recognized how small he was. He lived at once in this world of ours and above it. The vision of his being and the reach of his power were in and toward the infinite. Yet his service belonged to the here and now.⁴

He was not only profound and erudite but he was one of the most helpful of men. Henry R. Evans, his secretary, says of him:

"No matter how busy he might be with the routine duties of his office, he was ever ready to lay down his work to listen patiently to anyone who might call upon him for aid, financial or intellectual. He did not know the meaning of the word 'envy' but scattered everywhere the largeness of his knowledge. The Bureau of Education became the mecca of aspirants to philosophical fame. Like Carlyle his object was 'to produce, to produce.'"⁵

¹ *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Vol. 9, p. 204.

² *Psychologic Foundations of Education*, Harris, p. 42, 1898.

³ *Ibid*, p. 195.

⁴ Cf. *Guides, Philosophers and Friends*, Thwing, pp. 157-158.

⁵ *School Life*, Vol. 15, p. 144, April 1930.

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Some of our ablest educators think that in addition to retaining all that is good in the physical world we must like Dr. Harris see that the assurance of God, freedom and immortality furnishes the only sure foundation of education and that eventually the pendulum will swing back from the crass materialism of today.

When Dr. Harris retired in 1906 from the position of United States Commissioner of Education he went to Providence, Rhode Island, where he spent the remaining years of his life in congenial study. The last service he rendered was in the capacity of editor-in-chief of Webster's *New International Dictionary*. He died November 5, 1909, and was buried at Putnam Heights (North Killingly) Connecticut. On his monument is the following quotation from Goethe's *Tribute to Plato*.

"A rare scholar whose life was zealously and untiringly devoted to philosophy and education. His relation to the world is that of a superior spirit—all that he utters has reference to something complete, good, true, beautiful, whose furtherance he strives to promote to every bosom."

He married Sarah T. Bugbee, daughter of James Bugbee of Thompson, Connecticut on December 27, 1858 by whom he had two children.

Orders were conferred upon him by the French and Italian governments and many great universities of Europe and America gave him honorary degrees.

Dr. Harris' activity in educational organizations, his administrative experience and success, his writing on a wide range of educational topics, and the recognition of his educational scholarship by contemporaries indicate his thorough understanding of the fundamental principles underlying the theory and practice of teaching in his day.

Professor Treudley of Ohio University paid a beautiful tribute to the versatility of Dr. Harris when he said:

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"I know of no one who could fairly grasp the heavens of thought and compel them to descend and to refresh so fully life's common and dusty path."¹

¹ *Education*, Vol. 31, p. 231.

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WILLIAM JAMES

Any discussion of the life of a man gives rise to two questions: First, what manner of man is he as determined by his origin, his heritage of cultural background, his temperament and slant of mind, his education and training, and his opportunity? Second, what did he contribute to the work of the world that makes him worth discussion anyway? The biography of any individual is a matter of proper balance between these questions. In the case of William James, as in the case of most men, the answer to the second depends upon the answer to the first, for what a man will do depends in the main upon what he is. In all matters involved in both questions, James was singularly blessed.

According to William James' son, his ancestors in America, with the possible exception of one pair of great grandfathers, all came from Scotland or Ireland during the eighteenth century and settled in the region about New York. They became farmers, traders, and merchants, seem to have been about average people, solid and substantial, but not peculiarly outstanding except in certain cases. William's paternal grandfather, also named William, became a successful manufacturer, banker and public-spirited citizen, who in the course of a long and busy life amassed a fortune sufficiently large to leave each of his eleven children,—William's father, Henry James, Sr., among them,—financially independent. Most of the eleven may be described as having been "blessed with a liberal allowance of that combination of gayety, volubility and waywardness which is popularly conceded to the Irish—qualities which however interesting and charming did not keep them from dissipating both talents and opportunities."¹ Only one of the eleven, Henry, the father of our

¹ James, Henry, III. *Letters of William James*, p. 6.

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subject, seems to have risen above mediocrity. Henry James achieved fame as a writer, and as an independent theological thinker far ahead of his time. E. L. Godkin is quoted by Henry James, 3d, as saying that he supposed there was not in his day a more formidable master of English style.² The elder Henry's independence of thought is well illustrated by his reply to his daughter, when she asked him a few days before his death what he should like to have done about his funeral. "Tell him [the minister] to say only this: 'Here lies a man who has thought all his life that the ceremonies attending birth, marriage and death are all damned nonsense. Don't let him say a word more.'"³ From this independent, vigorously-thinking father, William James may have inherited his own vigor and independence of mind, while from a devoted, not to say indulgent, but quiet and reflective mother may have come the unusual mental receptivity and aesthetic sensibilities that marked William and his younger brother, Henry, who became a famous fictionist. From a beautiful, if at times, boisterous and rollicking home life, characterized by family debates, usually staged at the table, both sons received a training in argument and expression that served them well throughout their lives. It is said that their every day diction displayed a command of words and figures that most men never learn to use gracefully even in writing.⁴

William, the first son of Henry and Mary Walsh James, was born January 11, 1842, in New York City. When the baby was only a few days old Ralph Waldo Emerson smiled down upon him in his crib in the Astor House, and gave him his blessing.⁵ At about the same time G. Stanley Hall, his greatest psychological contemporary, was then a young man of twenty-one years preach-

² James, Henry, III. *Letters of William James*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵ Grace Adams. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 78.

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ing in a small country town. Despite the disparity in their ages, the intellectual paths of these two master minds were to cross and parallel each other many times. These two men ultimately became the pioneers of American psychology, with entirely contrasting fundamental views of the science. That of the younger man seems destined to prevail—with so many modifications that its founder would now scarcely recognize his brain child. But of that more anon.

The elder Henry James, though badly crippled from the amputation of a leg in his early youth, was an inveterate traveler, alternating his residence so frequently between America and Europe that the children never had whatever advantage there might be in continuous schooling. William was sent to the best of private schools both at home and abroad, but seems never to have acknowledged himself as particularly indebted to any of these, nor to any of the numerous tutors who were provided. He never remained long in any school either at home or in Europe to which the family removed for the second time before William was thirteen years old. He himself states that at the College de Boulogne, where he passed his sixteenth year, he received his first experience of thorough teaching and gained his first conception of earnest work.

At the age of eighteen William entered the Academy (now the University) of Geneva. The next year he went to Bonn-am-Rhein to learn German,—and so he went, from school to school, with the result that of his early schooling he was wont to say that he “never had any.”⁶ Despite the desultory nature of his early education, James acquired a thorough knowledge of French, and a moderate command of both Italian and German, with a smattering of Greek and Latin. An interest in exact knowledge early dominated him as well as a consuming desire to do well

⁶ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 20.

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whatever he undertook. He had a gift for art and wrote a friend that he thought of devoting himself to art, if after a year or two at it, he could assure himself that he could excel at it. He could imagine nothing so despicable as a bad artist.⁷ He did some acceptable work in art, but soon abandoned it as a life work, though it served him as a source of amusement and recreation throughout his life.

In 1861 James entered Harvard—the Lawrence Scientific School,—where he specialized in chemistry. Here his instructor was Charles W. Eliot, later President of Harvard for many years. This was the beginning of a friendship and a connection that lasted throughout the remainder of James' life. Eliot describes James as an interesting and agreeable student "but not wholly devoted to chemistry."

Throughout the two years that James studied chemistry at Lawrence his work was much interrupted by ill health, something which Dr. Eliot "imagined to be a delicacy of the nervous constitution. His mind was excursive, and he liked experimenting, particularly novel experimenting. . . . I received a distinct impression that he possessed unusual mental powers, remarkable spirituality, and great personal charm."⁸

At this period of his life James seems to have been afflicted with great uncertainty as to what he really wanted to do, an affliction in fact, from which he never fully recovered. Throughout his life, he was constantly looking for new and more inviting fields, and having browsed to his satisfaction in one, he was constantly on the move to others. His ardor for chemistry cooled in about a year and a half. In rapid succession anatomy, natural history, medicine,⁹ psychology engrossed his interest and attention.

⁷ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 23.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁹ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 43. Letter to his cousin, Mrs. Prince. See also letter to his mother. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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According to his son's account the physical and nervous frailty noted by Dr. Eliot prevented James from enlisting in the Union army during the Civil War. In 1864 he entered the medical school at Harvard. Here he was under the instruction of Professor Jeffries Wyman, whose influence counted more in James' life than did that of any other teacher, not excepting Eliot. How many of us can attribute the course of our own lives to the influence of a single great teacher! Ten years later James began to teach at Harvard, Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, the study of which he had begun under Dr. Wyman.

Although entered as a regular student in the Medical School, James had as yet no real professional purpose and had settled on no career. In 1865 he wrote his brother Henry from Brazil, whither he had gone with Louis Agassiz on a scientific expedition, that when he got home again he was going to study philosophy "all my days."¹⁰ The expedition to the Amazon proved to him that he was not fitted to become a field naturalist. Moreover, he became seriously ill while in Brazil, and though after his recovery, he continued with the expedition he regarded it more as an adventure than as an opportunity for scientific investigation. Furthermore he was now beginning to see that his prospective share in his father's estate would be far from sufficient to maintain him in the leisure which up to now he had been enjoying, and that it was becoming necessary for him to fit himself to earn a living. James seems to have profited by his contacts with Agassiz, whose systematic habits and exactness had a beneficial effect upon the then somewhat erratic and unsystematic young student. Agassiz seems not to have been greatly impressed with young James. Said he, "James, some people perhaps consider you a bright young man; but when you are fifty years old, if they ever speak of you then, what they will say will be this:

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

"That James,—oh yes, I know him, he used to be a very bright young man."¹¹ James accepted this rebuke and later recorded that Agassiz had so taught him the difference between all possible abstractionists and all livers in the light of the world's concrete fullness, that he was never able to forget it.¹² The fidelity with which James' own later abstractions face the concrete is the best testimony to the sincerity of this tribute.

James returned from Brazil in March, 1866, and entered the hospital as an undergraduate interne. From this it may be inferred that medical training in those days was rather inadequate and elementary, as indeed it was. In James' case it was also quite fragmentary. In the fall he re-entered the Medical School, to the faculty of which had been added Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. His physical condition was now excellent, and he pursued his studies with earnestness and vigor, until the following spring when they were again interrupted by the recurrence of ill health, and a desire to go abroad to learn German and study physiology in the German laboratories. He sailed in April. His health became worse, and a long illness followed, in which mental depression and a naturally introspective nature in all probability led him to reflect upon each new and disheartening experience "in terms of a possible answer to the riddles of life, death, freedom, predestination, and responsibility."¹³ This illness no doubt changed James from a physiologist into a philosopher and a psychologist. Eighteen months later he returned to America, not much improved in health, but much matured in character and thought, and resolved to seek his health and his career at home.¹⁴

In 1869 James graduated in Medicine, but with no intention

¹¹ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 56.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹³ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 85.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

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of practicing his profession. His interest was still physiology, but his health was such that he was unable to work in a laboratory, and he was oppressed on this account, and seems to have been burdened with the fear that he was about to fall into what Grover Cleveland called 'innocuous desuetude.' He suffered at times during this period of his life from a type of melancholia "which takes the form of panic fear." He had had a particularly bad fit of depression at the early age of thirteen. Of this experience he writes more than forty years later in a chapter on the "sick soul":¹⁵ "If I had not clung to scripture texts like *The eternal God is my refuge*, etc., *Come unto me all ye that labor*, etc., *I am the Resurrection and the life*, etc., I think I should have grown really insane."¹⁶ At the age of twenty-seven he was still undecided as to any real purpose in life, still dependent upon his parents, though well equipped to earn a living and mentally in a state of depression bordering in his own introspective view on insanity.

In the meantime Charles W. Eliot had become president of Harvard and was engaged in the program of development of that institution which he successfully continued until his retirement. In August, 1872 he appointed James instructor in physiology. His job was to give instruction in physiology and hygiene to undergraduates three times a week. Thus began a connection with Harvard which was to endure with few interruptions for thirty-five years, and which was destined to add to the fame of both teacher and university. From physiology James passed to psychology and thence to philosophy. Though well trained in the subject he was to teach, by this time his major interest was philosophy, and though his chief claim to fame lies in the field of psychology, to which he made most notable contributions, he

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

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never gave up his love for philosophy and devoted his last years almost exclusively to it. Psychology, in the end, became almost nauseous to him. Even at the time of his appointment to teach physiology he wrote his brother complaining that the state of his health was so bad as to preclude his trying for a sub-professorship in philosophy which had just become vacant. "But it's impossible. I keep up a small daily plugging at my physiology . . . which I shall find easy, I think."¹⁷ The importance of his work in this field must not be overlooked; it was not just a mere side issue, for out of his study of this subject he came to recognize the important influence of physiological effects upon mental reactions, and so became the father of the idea of physiological psychology which today is the generally accepted theory of mentality. In this he was the forerunner of the Behaviorists, as well as of the Gestaltists and the Pragmatists, the latter of which schools he was the real founder.

James' first appointment was only temporary,—for half a year,—but the following year he was offered a full time and permanent position as instructor in physiology and anatomy. Whether to accept, gave him much concern, as he feared doing so might land him permanently in this field, whereas by this time he had definitely made up his mind to devote himself to the field of mental science. In the end, however, he decided to accept the appointment, and wrote his brother Henry, who was then in Europe: "I am not a strong enough man to choose the other and nobler lot in life."¹⁸ At this time and as always, according to one author, he yearned toward mystery.¹⁹ The same writer states that James was the unmistakable precursor of Einstein.²⁰

In 1880 James was made Assistant Professor of Philosophy

¹⁷ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 166.

¹⁸ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 171.

¹⁹ Wickham, Harvey. *The Unrealists*. Frontpiece. See also p. 36.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 28.

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and five years later became a full professor. At last he had come into his own. His thirty-five years of teaching at Harvard embraced seven in physiology and anatomy, followed by nine in philosophy, then by nine in psychology and another ten in philosophy.

On Pragmatism, which is the name of the system of philosophy propounded by James, it is not necessary to dwell at length. The word was first introduced into philosophy in an article by Charles Pierce published in the *Popular Science Monthly*, January, 1879, but it was James who developed the system and gave it its vogue. Even today, among thinking and educated people it is still the dominant system of philosophy. Its leading living exponent is Dr. John Dewey of Columbia University. Its general acceptance is due to its emphasis of the practical in thinking. It is a type of functionalism which regards man as a biological organism, a product of both environment and heredity. It involves a study of behavior, inherited instincts, (which later psychologists deny) acquired habits, sensations, feelings, and thoughts, which for the Pragmatists constitute consciousness. The favorite method of investigation is by introspection or self-observation and examination.²¹ It was James' assertion that the visceral upheavals noticed in connection with intense emotional excitement, are not mere accompaniments of emotion, but the very core and seat of them, that brought psychology down to earth so to speak, or as Miss Adams so neatly puts it, down "to the pit of the stomach."²²

In addition to his work in physiology and anatomy at Harvard, James in 1876 offered a course in physiological psychology, and began the organization of a psychological laboratory. Thus, according to James' own claim, originated the first laboratory in

²¹ Adams, Grace. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 290.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

²³ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 179, footnote.

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experimental psychology.²³ Perhaps this claim applies only to America, for it is a fact that James had studied psychology with Wundt and others in Germany, and was greatly interested in the scientific approach to the subject which prevailed there. James himself, unlike his German co-workers, lacked the temperament necessary to this minute research, and was bored by the "deadly tenacity" necessary to secure results. At last he could no longer endure the "microscopic psychology" of the laboratory, and in 1892 called to Harvard a young German, Münsterberg by name, and placed him in charge of his laboratory. With the exception of one later year's work in this laboratory while Münsterberg was on leave, James steered clear of this type of work. "I naturally hate experimental work," he declared, and vowed that he "would quit Harvard for good rather than be tied down indefinitely to the everlasting, spying and scraping upon the mind with prisms and pendulums."²⁴

Early in 1876 James met Miss Alice Gibbons. With James it seems to have been a case of love at first sight. He cultivated the acquaintance, was successful in his suit, and after a short engagement they were married, July 10, 1878. Their first born son pays the following beautiful tribute to the influence of his mother on the subsequent life and success of William James: "It must be left to a later day and a less intimate and partial hand to do adequate justice to a marriage which was happy in the rarest and fullest sense, and which was soon to work an abiding transformation in James' health and spirits. No mere devotion could have achieved the skill and care with which his wife understood and helped him. Family duties and responsibilities, often great and worrisome enough, weighed lightly in the balance against the tranquility and confidence that his new domesticity soon brought him. During the twenty-one years that immediately

²⁴ Adams, Grace. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 52.

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followed his marriage he accomplished an amount of teaching, college committee-service and administration, friendly and helpful personal intercourse with his students, reading and book-writing, original research, not to speak of his initial excursions into the field of psychical research, and a good deal of popular lecturing to eke out his income, that would have astonished anyone who had known him only during the early seventies, and that would have honored the capacity and endurance of any man . . . Meanwhile his wife who entered into all his plans and undertakings with unfailing understanding and high spirit . . . encourage him in all his major undertakings with a sustaining skill and cheer which need not be described to anyone who knew his household. To the importance of her companionship it is still, happily, impossible to do justice.”²⁵ James, like many another able and gifted man, needed a sympathetic and tactful, but persistent wife to make him measure up to the best that was in him. Doubtless much of his success was due to her continuous insistence that he keep himself at his tasks, for he seems never to have accomplished much of worth until after his marriage, which came after he had passed thirty-six years of age—comparatively late for marriage.

The year 1878 was important in James’ life for another reason. Henry Holt and Company were beginning to publish a series of works on American Science, and after considerable correspondence they offered James the commission to write a volume on Psychology. They wished him to have it ready within a year, but on account of the condition of James’ health, accepted his proposition to have it ready in two years. It turned out that instead of a mere critical survey which he had in mind at the time of the contract, it proved to be a monumental work which occupied twelve years of research and study to complete. It was published in 1890 under the title *Principles of Psychology*. James is quoted

²⁵ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*, p. 192-3.

as saying that he had "to forge every sentence of it in the teeth of irreducible and stubborn facts."²⁶ It is today regarded as America's most notable contribution to psychology, and as James' greatest work; Cattell called it psychology's declaration of independence. But long before James had finished it he was sick to death, says Miss Adams, of the whole subject, and called his book "a loathsome, distended, tumefied, dropsical mass, testifying to but two facts: first, that there is no such thing as a science of psychology, and second that W. J. is an incapable."²⁷ Probably W. J. at this time was suffering from a superiority complex and did not really believe the second fact stated, but there seems little doubt that by this time he thoroughly believed that an exact science of mind that was impossible, in which opinion he was probably correct. With James' own estimate of his work the ordinary reader—even of philosophy—will perhaps not find it difficult to agree. It is not pertinent at this point to enter into a discussion of James' psychological or philosophical views. Suffice it to say that his *Principles* revolutionized the thinking in both fields of learning.²⁸

From his early student days James had always been given to excursions into fields other than that which occupied his major interest. One of the most interesting of these was that into the realm of psychical research, an interest to which he gave much of his time and energy throughout the later years of his life, and which in the minds of scientific observers added nothing to his prestige as a scientist and thinker. James doubtless recognized the probable effect of his activity in this realm of the supernatural. Few can approach such subjects without mental and emotional bias, and they are surrounded by an air of superstition and

²⁶ Adams, Grace. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 50.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁸ For an adversely critical review of James, see Harvey Wickham's book, *The Unrealists*. Ch. II.

credulity. Men of scientific bent usually refuse to recognize or have anything to do with inquiry into such matters, knowing full well that to do so will be the cause of misunderstanding of motives by their fellow scientists as well as by the laity. If James appreciated all this, it did not serve him as a reason why he should avoid the matter. He, like Sir Oliver Lodge, sincerely believed that here was a field of mental research which ought to be explored and saw no reason why he should not lend his name, his influence, and his energy to it. Accordingly, he became a corresponding member of the English Society of Psychical Research in 1884, and busied himself in promoting a similar organization in Boston. To this society he was a contributor for years, and when it amalgamated with the English society in 1890, he became a vice-president of the latter. In 1894-5 he was President of the English society, and after that until his death served continually as a vice-president, and was a frequent contributor to its publications.²⁹ He testified openly to his belief in the miraculous knowledge of a famous Mrs. Piper, published his faith in her mediumistic revelations in his most serious writings, and expressed the hope that his belief in her powers might "draw a reader or two into a field which the soi-disant scientist usually refuses to enter."³⁰ He considered that "a serious study of these trance-phenomena was one of the greatest needs of psychology."³¹ This seems consistent with his expressed belief that scientific psychology was an impossibility. Whatever the possible effect of this interest in psychical matters on James' reputation as a scientist seems to have been a matter of indifference to him, and leaves no doubt concerning his courage and sincerity as a research worker. That he was fully aware of the fraud practiced by most spiritualistic "mediums" is shown by certain excerpts from letters

²⁹ James, Henry, III. *Letters of William James*, p. 227.

³⁰ Adams, Grace. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 72.

³¹ *Ibid.*

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to his wife about his adventures with some of them. "Mr. B. and Madame D. were 'too tired' to see us last night. I suspect that will be the case next Monday. It is the knowing thing to do under the circumstances. But that woman is one with whom one would fall *wildly* in love, if in love at all—she is such a fat, *fat* old villian." Again "A plague take all white-livered, anaemic, flacid, weak-voiced Yankee frauds! Give me a full-blooded red-lipped villain like dear old D—. When shall I look upon her like again?"³²

The philosopher Santayana, who knew James well as a fellow student at Harvard is quoted by Wickham³³ describing James as a person "who kept his mind and heart wide open to all who might seem to polite minds, odd, personal or visionary in religion and philosophy. He gave a sincerely respectful hearing to sentimentalists, mystics, spiritualists, wizards, cranks, quacks and imposters . . . The lame, the halt, the blind, and those speaking with tongues could come to him with the certainty of finding sympathy. . . . Thus William James became the friend and helper of those groping, nervous, half-educated, spiritually disinherited, passionately hungry individuals of which America is full. He played havoc with (earlier) genteel traditions, and had a prophetic sympathy with the dawning sentiments of the age, with the moods of the dumb majority. He was democratic, concrete and credulous." This indicates the price James had to pay at the hands of many of his professional friends, for his excursions into psychical research. In a letter to G. H. Palmer, April 2, 1900, James in turn pays his respects to Santayana. Commenting on a book of Santayana's which had just come from the press he said among many other interesting comments, "I now understand Santayana,

³² James, Henry, III. *Letters of William James*, p. 228.

³³ Wickham, Harvey. *The Unrealists*, p. 44.

the man; I never understood him before. But what a perfection of rottenness in a philosophy!"³⁴

With the completion of the two volumes of his *Principles*, which had been a most irksome task, James sought release from the subject. As stated above he turned over his laboratory to Professor Münsterberg, and from that time on had little or no active interest in psychology. With the exception of one year which he was compelled by Münsterberg's absence to devote to the laboratory, his time was thenceforward devoted to philosophy, lecturing, and miscellaneous writing. As time passed he grew more and more to dislike being called a psychologist. We are told that when he learned that Harvard was about to confer upon him an honorary degree in June, 1903, "he went about for days in a half-serious state of dread lest at the fatal moment he should hear President Eliot's voice naming him " 'Psychologist, psychical researcher, willer-to-believer, religious experimenter.' He could not say whether the last impossible epithet would be less to his taste than 'psychologist.' "³⁵ Though he continued as titular Professor of Psychology until 1897, the titles of his courses never indicated exactly the nature of their subject matter, but tended more and more away from psychology, and more and more to philosophy. In 1896 he offered for the first time a course on the philosophy of Kant, and in 1898 an elective course in Metaphysics which considered "the unity or pluralism of the world ground, and its knowability or unknowability; realism and idealism, freedom, teleology, and theism."³⁶ As indicated above he had been made full professor of philosophy in 1885.

In addition to his full-time college work, great demands began now to be made upon James as a lecturer. Other colleges, teachers' associations, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were now call-

³⁴ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*. Vol. II, 122.

³⁵ Adams, Grace. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 77.

³⁶ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*. Vol. II, p. 4.

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ing him, and he gave freely of his time and energy. His son tells us that his salary as a Harvard professor was insufficient for his needs, and it was necessary through these lectures to eke out the income on which to support his family and properly educate his children, had there been no professional motive. "The bald fact remains that for six years he spent most of the time he could spare from regular college duties . . . in carrying the fruits of fifteen years of psychological work to the popular market."⁸⁷

No man has done more than James to popularize psychology. Prior to his lectures psychology was a forbidding term, full of mysticism and mystery. Today it is a household word. Everybody talks of the "psychology of the situation"—even Amos and Andy have their "syrology"; and everybody understands in a fairly clear way what the word connotes.

Of the last ten years of James' life it is not necessary to write in detail. They were busy fruitful years devoted to professional work, writing, lecturing, travel, rearing of his family, and such other matters as fill the life of man, and they were crowned with professional and literary honors. Invitations to deliver the Gifford lectures at Edinborough,—the most coveted honor in the Academic world,—and the Hibbert Foundation lectures at Oxford were accounted among the greatest honors any scholar could receive. James achieved both, and delivered the lectures with conspicuous success. In 1903 Harvard conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. "The friendliness of such recognition" wrote he to Henry Higginson, "is a delightful thing to a man about to graduate from the season of his usefulness." Cogitations and comments of quite a different sort on the matter are recorded above.

Ill health and the pressure of other plans prompted James to resign his professorship at Harvard in February, 1907. He had

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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never enjoyed the blessings of robust health. From his youth up he was the victim of nervous and other disorders which the best of medical care both at home and abroad could not cure. Frequent trips to the baths of Germany gave some relief, but nothing permanent. In his later years his heart was affected through a misadventure in the Adirondacks, so that exercise in the open, which he loved, was no longer possible. During his last stay in Europe his condition became rapidly worse, and when the party sailed for home it was evident that the end was not far off. From Quebec, where they landed, he, his faithful wife, and his brother Henry went straight to James' summer home at Chocorua, New Hampshire, where a week later in the early afternoon of August 26th death came to William James. Among his last recorded words were, "It is so good to be home." After a funeral service in the College Chapel at Cambridge, the body was cremated and the ashes placed by the side of the graves of his parents in Cambridge Cemetery.³⁸

The character of William James may be fairly estimated from the foregoing. He was probably something of a neurotic, and much given to introspection, but he had a fine sense of humor, a devotion to truth and to duty, a strength and persistence of character, which despite the handicaps of almost constant ill health, made him one of the world's greatest teachers, and one of its most famous men. He was idolized by his students and his friends, for whom no sacrifice was too great for him to make. His correspondence reveals a devotion to his friends that is as striking as it is beautiful.

His written work is voluminous. Books, essays and lectures poured from his pen. The most famous of his works is *The Principles of Psychology* published by Henry Holt and Company, New

³⁸ James, Henry, III. *Letters of William James*, p. 350.

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York, and by Macmillan and Company, London, in two volumes, 1890, after twelve years of grinding, arduous, and unwilling labor. Many of his writings have been translated into most foreign languages. The influence of his work on philosophical thinking can scarcely be overestimated. Even so harsh a critic as Wickham refers to James as the "unmathematical, but unmistakable precursor of Einstein—James, the but half-acknowledged father of the New World,—James, whose fame leaves the greater part of him still unsung,—James, the super-journalist of our times,—James, in whom so many of us all unwittingly live, move and try to have our mental being."³⁹ This is not meant to be complimentary; nevertheless, it "all unwittingly" pays the subject, a really great tribute.

James' philosophy cannot here be discussed—it is vastly beyond the scope and purpose of this article. Suffice it to say that to philosophy his greatest contribution was Pragmatism, which today is the most widely accepted mode of thought among scholars. His book, *Pragmatism*, and its sequel, *The Meaning of Truth*, were published in 1907 and 1909 respectively. Wickham says that in James' realization of the continual creativeness of creations lies his chief gift to the world, though James himself gave to Bergson the credit for this idea.⁴⁰

Although James was the father of experimental psychology in America, as has been seen above, he early deserted it, turning his laboratory over to Hugo Münsterberg, a young German student whom he brought to Harvard for the purpose. In time James entirely deserted the field of psychology for that of philosophy. However, it is in the former field that he has had his greatest influence on education in America. There is no evidence that James ever attended or taught in a public school, yet prob-

³⁹ Wickham, Harvey. *The Unrealists*, p. 28.

⁴⁰ Wickham, Harvey. *The Unrealists*, p. 56.

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ably no scholar has had a greater influence on the development of teaching and teaching practice. For more than two generations James' psychology has been the basis of our pedagogy, and the end is not yet, for comparatively few of our teachers acknowledge a psychology beyond that of James. Many of his ideas are the professional furniture of our teachers, and his definition of education is still standard: The organization of acquired habits of conduct and tendencies to behavior.⁴¹ His *Talks to Teachers* has probably been read by more teachers and students of education than any other popular text, and is still considered an authority. James, himself, is more frequently cited in current books on education than any other writer, living or dead.⁴² These facts and their implications have had an effect upon educational theory and practice of the last fifty years that cannot be over estimated. Even today the patron saint of most teachers in American public schools is William James. Bode says "The ability to enter into a wide variety of human interests with spontaneous and intelligent sympathy is a difficult achievement, and from this standpoint the social is not a fact but an ideal. . . . It is this quality of spirit which makes James' great *Psychology* so peculiarly a human document—Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto."⁴³

James made his most lasting impression upon psychology through his naturalistic description and analysis of the emotions. In attributing these to the lower viscera he set the pattern for the physiological psychologists of whom he was the first, and for the later Behaviorists, who have gone him more than one better in using physiology, and the reactions of the human make-up as the source of all behavior.

James believed in consciousness, which to him was "not only

⁴¹ James, William. *Talks to Teachers*, p. 29.

⁴² See index of any modern text on the subject.

⁴³ Bode. *Fundamentals of Education*, p. 45.

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unitary, cognitive, and personal, but discriminative and in constant flux." Said he, "It is nothing jointed; it flows. A 'river' or a 'stream' are the metaphors by which it is best described. In talking of it hereafter, let us call it a stream of thought or consciousness, or of the subjective life."⁴⁴ Again, "it is a fact that with most of us when awake, (and often when asleep) some kind of consciousness is always going on. There is a stream, a succession of states or waves or fields, (or whatever you please to call them), of knowledge, of feeling, of desire, of deliberation, etc., that constantly pass and repass, and that constitute our inner life. The existence of this stream is the primal fact, the nature and origin of it form the essential problem, of our science."⁴⁵ To most ordinary humans this is doctrine far preferable to the notion that we humans are mere mechanisms, subject wholly to chemical and physical stimuli, as the behaviorists would have us believe. This idea of the stream of consciousness has been James' greatest gift to writers on the subject of psychology, just as his theory of emotions was his greatest contribution to the science itself. Says Miss Adams: "For if his theory of the emotions was James' contribution to naturalistic science, his description of the stream of thought has surely been his gift to the world of literature—both to writers of novels and their reviewers."⁴⁶

James' theory of the emotions was developed independently and at about the same time by Carl Lange of Copenhagen and hence is known as the James-Lange Theory of Emotions. Briefly stated it is as follows: The bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting (stimulus) and our feelings of these same changes as they occur *is* the emotion. This probably means

⁴⁴ Adams, Grace. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 70.

⁴⁵ James. *Talks to Teachers*, p. 15.

⁴⁶ Adams, Grace. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 70.

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that a so-called emotion without visceral upheaval is no emotion at all.

James is commonly accredited as having possessed that gift rarely found in profound thinkers, the gift of facile expression. Wickham speaks of him as the super-journalist of our times.⁴⁷ One has but to read his essays, his correspondence, or his *Talks to Teachers* to appreciate this. A beautiful free-flowing style characterizes all that he wrote. One can at least understand his words, if he cannot fathom the meaning. In some of his philosophy one might feel as does Wickham, that what he is writing is "stuff and nonsense," but must agree that James is saying it about as well as it could be said. He had truly the gift of expression as well as the thinking mind. Just this random excerpt from a letter to one of his sons will suffice to illustrate how he could glorify the commonplace: "I saw a moving sight the other morning before breakfast in a little hotel where I slept in the dusty fields. The young man of the house had shot a little wolf called a coyote in the early morning. The heroic little animal lay on the ground with his big furry ears, and his clean white teeth, and his jolly cheerful little body, but his brave little life had gone. It made me think how brave all these living things are. Here the little coyote was, with nothing but his own naked self to pay his way with, and risking his life so cheerfully—and losing it—just to see if he could pick up a meal near the hotel. He was doing his coyote-business like a hero, and you must do your boy-business bravely too, or else you won't be worth as much as that little coyote. Your mother can find a picture of him in those green books of animals and I want you to copy it. Your loving Dad."⁴⁸ What sympathy, what appreciation and understanding of boyhood and how beautifully expressed!

⁴⁷ Wickham, Harvey. *The Unrealists*, p. 28.

⁴⁸ James, Henry III. *Letters of William James*. Vol. II, p. 81.

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William James, America's greatest psychologist and one of her greatest philosophers is thus summed up by a critic very unfriendly to his philosophy: "And yet the heart of the man yearned towards mystery, as do the hearts of us all. His reason . . . never satisfied him. He was torn in two, achieving an inner duplicity which was at times pathological. At one moment a cold rationalist, so rational and 'tough-minded' in his straight project of imperfect assumptions as to be starkly irrational, at the next a hot-headed (albeit a tender-minded) fanatic, capable of accepting the most outlandish hocus-pocus as gospel. The cause lay partly in that movement which continuing even today is more his child than it realizes, and partly in the history of the man himself."⁴⁹ Fairer-minded, perhaps, and less prejudiced witnesses will hardly subscribe to this picture of a kindly and lovable man, whose contribution to the world's sum of knowledge and to progressive thinking is so great as completely to eclipse his traducers. Few have heard of the critic quoted above, but fewer still among even the only moderately educated are they who have not drunk at the cup held out by James. The father of the experimental psychologists, he deserted them because he felt that psychology offered no hopes as a field of science, and yet today wherever psychologists assemble they do him honor as their greatest leader, and as Miss Adams so gracefully puts it: "Even the experimenters, when they meet in solemn conclave to name America's most distinguished psychologists, always write first the name of William James."⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Wickham, Harvey. *The Unrealists*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Adams, Grace. *Psychology: Science or Superstition*, p. 57.

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

On March 20, 1834, there was born on Beacon Street, Boston, a boy who was named Charles William Eliot. He was the only son of Samuel Atkins Eliot and Mary Syman Eliot, two distinguished members of colonial families. His father was an importer who lost his fortune in the panic of 1857.

The first five years of Charles' life were uneventful and the fact that his father was mayor of Boston, raised him in the scale of life when judged by the poor boy.

At the end of five years Charles was sent to a school administered by two or three pleasant young women on Bowdoin Street. This school was attended by both boys and girls and its curriculum consisted of spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic and geography.

At the age of eight years he was transferred to a school for boys which was conducted in the basement of Park Street Church. Here the surroundings were not the most pleasant.¹ His teacher was a kind and conscientious man but was not in good health. Much of the learning in this school consisted in memory work and this Charles never enjoyed.

During the summer of 1844, preparations were made to send Charles, the following year, to the Boston Public Latin School. Here he began to prepare himself for Harvard University.

There were two sessions of the Latin School, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Sunday was not a day of recreation but a day of worship. Church must be attended twice daily, once in the forenoon and once in the afternoon.

¹ Eliot, Charles. Contributions to the History of American Teaching. In *Educational Review*, Vol. 42, Nov. 1911, p. 346.

The first three years of his work at the Boston Latin School were not far different from the years spent in the other schools. The major portion of the first year was devoted to memorizing a large Latin grammar (Andrews and Stoddards). This task was most unpleasant and unprofitable. The repetition necessary, reduced the work of the classroom to that of memory rather than getting any real comprehension of the material and rules committed.

No attempt, whatever, was made to familiarize the students with English literature and modern language, while an enormous amount of time was given to arithmetical problems, many of which were foreign to American needs. When Charles Eliot found that these could be solved in a simple manner he became very indignant and felt that inefficient instruction had been imposed upon the students. He felt that in educational procedure, the easiest road should be followed in order to get farther in the same given time.¹ Algebra was taught from a text which was modeled after the French algebra. Very little geometry was taught. There was no music, drawing or manual work of any kind taught in the school. During this period of his life, his education was supplemented with swimming, riding and lathe turning.

During the last two years of his attendance at the Latin school, he began to enjoy his work in the Latin classics, particularly Virgil. The training obtained here fitted him extremely well for his entrance examination at Harvard.² Eliot believed that his diligent labor in Latin trained his memory. It developed his power of sustained attention.

¹ Eliot, Charles. Contributions to the History of American Teaching. In *Educational Review*, Vol. 42, Nov. 1911, p. 350.

² Eliot passed his entrance examination to Harvard at the age of fifteen and one-half years. This was in 1849.

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The course of the Boston Latin School covered only five years and shortly after his fifteenth birthday, Eliot passed his examination for entrance to Harvard. This examination covered mathematics, Greek, Latin and some history.

As Eliot entered Harvard College, he found that in the Freshman year elements of chemistry, Greek, Latin, mathematics and the history of Rome, were required. Having been thoroughly prepared in all of the other subjects, Eliot found much time to spend on chemistry. This study was of such interest to him that he maintained an unusual interest in the subject during the remainder of his life.

In 1849 there was no chemical laboratory at Harvard except in the Lawrence Scientific School but to this, Harvard students did not have access. When Josiah Cooke¹ began to teach chemistry in 1850 he was obliged to rely on illustrated lectures and the text book. In the second half of his year's work Cooke equipped a laboratory in the basement of University Hall. To this laboratory, Eliot was admitted in his Sophomore year. Here he studied general chemistry, qualitative and quantitative analysis in his leisure hours during the remainder of his college course. At this time he assisted Professor Cooke in the preparation of his many lectures.

In his Junior year at Harvard, there were added, through the efforts of Professor Cooke, as electives, lectures on minerology, and for the Senior year, lectures on chemistry. Eliot made every effort to attend these. At this time, French and natural history were added to the required list for the Sophomore year, and Eliot welcomed every course as a diversion from the classical routine.

Work with Professor Cook was especially valuable, and as his assistant, Eliot helped to reorganize the mineral's cabinet. This

¹Note: Instructor Cooke in 1851 became Professor Cooke.

experience was valuable to him and proved to be so stimulating that he spent three summer vacations on walking trips gathering specimens with Professor Cooke. These journeys took him from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on the east through New England to New Jersey and Pennsylvania on the south. It was in this manner that he gained his first experience in scientific research. This was not open to Harvard students in general, and it was many years before the students were permitted to do field work in natural history during the summer.

As Eliot came up for graduation¹ we might say that he had pursued his study of Latin and Greek far beyond the elementary forms. He was acquainted with mathematics, having a knowledge of trigonometry, (plane and spherical), algebra and analytical geometry. In speaking of his knowledge of mathematics he says, "My knowledge of mathematics when I graduated was still wholly elementary though I had studied the differential and integral calculus and something of analytical mechanics."² In chemistry and mineralogy he had learned both laboratory and field methods, going beyond the elements of the principles and the technique. Again he says, "With no other subject except the classics, did I get beyond the elements. No student, however diligent, could get beyond the elements in any subject unless he went outside of the college."¹

Without doubt, Mr. Eliot was a conscientious student. He was diligent and practical. With very little difficulty he completed the work at Harvard, ranking second scholastically. Immediately

¹ Eliot graduated from Harvard College in 1853 at the age of 19 years. *Charles W. Eliot, The Man and His Beliefs* by Willim Allan Neilson.

² Eliot, Charles. Contributions to the History of American Teaching. In *Educational Review*, Vol. 42, Nov. 1911, p. 356.

¹ Eliot, Charles. Contributions to the History of American Teaching. In *Educational Review*, Vol. 42, Nov. 1911, p. 356.

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after graduation he began the study of French, accounting and advanced work in chemistry.

Mr. Eliot had never taught school, but hoped, some day, to be a teacher.² His first experience came in 1854 when he was appointed Tutor in mathematics at Harvard. Of this Charles Eliot says:

“The selection, although it seems extraordinary to persons accustomed to the requirements now made of young men who are now to teach mathematics in Harvard College, was an improvement over the common practice of appointing law and divinity students to be tutors in Greek, Latin and mathematics on their way to the practice of their professions. I, at least, had the intention of becoming a teacher for life, although mathematics was not the subject I preferred.”³

In 1861 he retired from the field of mathematics altogether to spend his time entirely on chemistry.¹ All of his preparation for work in chemistry to this time had been under the guidance of Professor Cooke, until in 1863, when he went to Europe for two years to study chemistry and education.

In the late fall and winter of 1856-57 he was asked to substitute for Professor Cooke, who had, rather abruptly, severed connections with the medical school. He delivered the chemistry lectures appearing in the course of study and as this was a new experience for him it proved quite valuable when he became president of the university.

The medical profession in those days was made up of men whose education was from one extreme to another. There were many college graduates who could barely read or write. There were but two small laboratories in the school, one a dissecting

² *Ibid.*, p. 360.

³ *Ibid.*

¹ Eliot had, however, spent seven years in the field of mathematics.

room, and the other a small chemistry laboratory where Professor Cooke had allowed a few volunteers to study qualitative analysis and medical chemistry. In this school it was impossible to give a written examination, and the student who passed in the majority of nine subjects in an oral examination, which lasted usually five minutes for each person, was given his diploma.

During the first term of 1858-59 Eliot was elected to the Assistant Professorship in mathematics and chemistry. Among the courses which he gave was an elective course for college Juniors in mineralogy and crystallography, and in the second term, a course in qualitative analysis for the same students. This was his first course in the laboratory.¹

Eliot's title was again changed in 1861, to that of Assistant Professor of Chemistry in the Lawrence Scientific School, which was affiliated with Harvard College. Here he became acquainted with different methods of instruction and types of students. During this period of his experience, he became acquainted with the graduates of 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1865.² Here it was, that Mr. Eliot realized the advantages of specialized instruction. He came in contact with such men as Louis Agassiz, Jeffries Wyman and Henry T. Eustis. In this manner he was enabled to understand many teaching problems, principles of investigation and administration, and apply them in the interests of research.

While in charge of the chemistry laboratory of the Lawrence Scientific School, Mr. Eliot carried on the work which he had started while assisting Professor Cooke during the years between 1854-'61. Here he obtained the real meaning of scientific research.

In March, 1863, Mr. Eliot's term as Assistant Professor ended, but he remained in charge of the chemical laboratory of the Scien-

¹In 1860-61, he offered a course in laboratory instructions to Juniors who elected chemistry.

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tific School until July, which temporarily marked the termination of his connections with Harvard College. The next two years, or, to be exact, fourteen months, he spent in Europe. During this time he attended lectures in Paris, and studied the organization of secondary schools and institutions of higher learning in several European countries. In these studies particular attention was given to the laboratories, museums and libraries.¹

At this time his professional prospects were dim but he decided to keep his resolution made in 1854 to be a college teacher and so he went about procuring information which four years later was very serviceable to him as a university administrator. While in Rome in 1865 he was offered the superintendency of Merrimac Mills, in Lowell, Massachusetts, at a salary of five thousand dollars and the "use" of a house. The duties were outlined as being congenial, and the salary more remunerative than that of any college professor of his time. Even in the face of this he chose to practice the profession for which he had spent eleven years in preparation. A few weeks later he accepted a professorship of chemistry in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at a salary of two thousand dollars a year.

After four years at this institute, in collaboration with a colleague, Professor Frank H. Storer, he published two text-books in which "a method of experimenting" by the student himself replaced the old memorizing of rules and descriptions of principles.

Mr. Winship, in 1923, described the new text-book in chemistry in the following words:

" . . . I owned every text-book on the subject in the English language. It was as far above any text-book on chemistry as a new Pierce-Arrow is above a second-hand 'flivver.' "

¹Note: While in Europe, Eliot spent five months in Professor Kolbe's chemical laboratory at Marburg.

. . . The magnitude of it, the dignity of it is so vivid even now, that I feel somewhat of the thrill I had as I lived, moved and had my being in the wonders of that book.”¹

While attending a meeting of the Harvard Board of Overseers in March, 1869, Mr. Eliot was told secretly by a member of the corporation that the college corporation wished to elect him President of Harvard College. In a short time the corporation passed upon his election, but at this point, a vigorous protest arose on account of two articles, written by M. Eliot, and published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. His opinions as expressed in this magazine were new to this section of the country and naturally caused much antagonism. After discussions “pro and con,” he was elected President by a vote of sixteen to eight.

Many fears existed among school men at the election of a young man whose views on education were so pronounced on the inadequacy of their educational system.

His election showed the country that change, reorganization, readjustment and expansion were to be made at Harvard.

His inaugural address was delivered on October 16, 1869. In it he expressed his views before the public. His opening words give us the keynote of the whole address:

“The endless controversies whether languages, philosophy, mathematics or science supplied the best mental training, whether general education should be chiefly literary or chiefly scientific, have no practical lesson for us today. This university recognizes no real antagonism between literature and science, and consents to no such narrow alternatives as mathematics or classics, science or metaphysics. We would have them all and at their best.”¹

¹ Winship, A. E. Interesting Memories of Charles Eliot. In *Journal of Education*, Boston, Dec. 13, 1923, p. 593.

¹ Hanus, Paul. A Tribute to Dr. Charles W. Eliot. In *Progressive Education*, Vol. 4, No. 2. July, August, Sept., 1927, p. 159.

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The election of Charles Eliot to the presidency of Harvard broke many traditions of the time which went with this office. He was young,² not a minister, not absolutely a scholar, but a chemist and a scientist. He was not popular as he antagonized people many times by expressing his opinions in extremely plain terms. The two articles which he had written for the *Atlantic Monthly*, on the "New Education," prior to his appointment showed him to be a reformer in educational lines. Before this he had been a teacher on the faculty of the college when Harvard's faculty consisted only of ten professors and two tutors, and had risen to the rank of associate professor before leaving the faculty.

Even with this experience, he had obtained no distinction as a teacher.

In appearance, the new president was tall and dignified. He was fond of various sports and many hours were spent horseback riding and rowing with Harvard crews. These activities, especially on Sunday,¹ broke the traditional life and beliefs of Eastern Massachusetts and Connecticut. Mr. Eliot was patient, fair and a practitioner of common sense. His co-workers believed him to be indifferent and lacking in friendly qualities, however, many times he did not trust himself to express the emotions walled within.

"Austere and unbending as people supposed him to be, no man was easier to talk to if the speaker knew his own mind. A remarkable power of listening, which he attributed to a time when weakness of his eyes compelled him to learn from books

² Eliot was thirty-five years old when elected President of Harvard. *Charles W. Eliot* by William Allan Neilson.

¹ Briggs, L. B. R., Palmer, George H., Moore, George F., Taussig, Frank W., Richards, Theodore W., Charles William Eliot. In *School and Society*, Vol. 24, p. 695.

read aloud, was immensely helpful to those who talked with him—a power aided and in a great measure created by his eagerness to know the opinions of other men. To him any man's point of view meant something and was worth the effort of trying to understand.”²

President Eliot never considered anything too small or insignificant for consideration. He was frank in his estimates and fair to all. His beliefs in freedom, academically, led him to place the University Printing Press at the disposal of his opponents. He was a man whose interest in community affairs kept him constantly in touch with public and political questions. Of these he expressed his opinions as vigorously as those of education.

The first part of his administration was naturally filled with controversies. His patience and common sense won him many supporters and adherents, and his leadership extended his influence far beyond the field of higher education. In fact it not only extended to the secondary field but to the primary. He held that the school system of America was inadequate. Of this he said:

“It is not because of the limitation of their faculties that boys come to college having mastered nothing but a few score pages of Latin and Greek, and the bare rudiments of mathematics. Not nature but an unintelligent system of instruction from the primary school through the college, is responsible for the fact that many college graduates have so inadequate a conception of what is meant by scientific observation, reasoning and proof. It is impossible for the young to get actual experience of all the principal methods of thought. There is a method of thought in language and another in

² *Ibid*, p. 696.

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natural and physical sciences, and another of faith. With wise direction even a child would drink at all these springs.”¹

One of the first changes Dr. Eliot inaugurated, was the elective system. Some thought this to be an extreme venture. His freedom of choice allowed to students, caused many professors to fear that it might be necessary to give much of the work of instruction to younger assistant professors. This, they viewed with alarm and fear. One of the opponents of this plan was Dr. Bigelow, professor of surgery, who had charge of the medical school. He went to the Board of Overseers and told its members that the young president would eliminate the medical school if his plans of reconstruction were allowed.

“He actually proposes,” said the professor, “to have written examinations for the degree of doctor of medicine. I had to tell him that he knew nothing about quality of Harvard medical students; more than half of them can barely write. Of course they can’t pass written examinations.”¹

In spite of Dr. Bigelow’s arguments Mr. Eliot’s request was granted as the members of the Board of Overseers saw that there was a need of improved standards in the medical profession.² The effect of this act was a decline in number of medical students for a few years.

There were no requirements for admission to the medical school except the payment of a fee. The total length of time required was three winter terms of four months each and a diploma was given after a short oral examination. Mr. Eliot lengthened the

¹ Hanus, Paul. A Tribute to Dr. Charles W. Eliot. In *Progressive Education*, Vol. 4, No. 3. July, August, September, 1927, p. 160.

¹ Winship, A. E. Interesting Memories of Charles Eliot. In *Journal of Education*, Dec. 13, 1923, p. 594.

² Charles William Eliot, *The Man and His Beliefs* by William Allan Neilson.

terms, made the courses progressive and substituted written examinations.

Charles William Eliot's work as an educator began when he was chosen president of Harvard University. This institution was the oldest of American colleges, having been founded in 1636.³ Its graduates numbered many distinguished men but educationally it was very unprogressive, with two or three inefficient professional schools attached. Mr. Eliot's years in Europe had made him aware that Harvard fell short of the standards of the better European universities. His task was to build an institution adequate to the needs of America.

President Eliot delivered his inaugural address with energy and accuracy. He laid down a set of principles and a series of changes which must have sounded radical. Some of the timid were alarmed and others were agitated. He, however, was under no illusions as to what he had undertaken. How far-sighted he was, is shown by the fact that nearly all of the features which characterized the progress of American education for the following generation, are to be found there.

Knowing what he wanted to do, Eliot offered reasons why it should be done. He tried always to make his policies prevail by exercising persuasion. He never used politics. He stated the facts as he saw them, with all the logic at his command. One by one, his reforms were adopted by a majority of the faculty members and boards of control. Thus there was established the elective system with the consequent development of specialization, the enrichment of the curriculum, the substitution of written for oral examinations and of lectures for recitations. In the administering of discipline a much greater degree of liberty and respon-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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sibility was granted to the students. Higher standards of admission to the college were required.¹

Mr. Eliot believed in liberty in education. This required giving to the students (1) freedom in choice of studies, (2) opportunity to win academic distinction in special subjects, and (3) a discipline which requires each individual to form his own habits and guide his own conduct.

He believed that no prescribed course could fit all boys and girls. Choice of study produces a better attitude than does compulsion.²

Mr. Eliot very wisely stated that the effect of liberty underlies a person's attitude toward society.

The legal education at Harvard was very unsatisfactory. There was no Dean and no policy. Mr. Eliot, it was, who selected C. C. Langdell and supported him in the famous "case system" of studying law. It became necessary that a college degree be required for admission. In this department, Mr. Eliot placed the Harvard Law School in position to be acknowledged as the most distinguished institution of its kind in the world.¹

In the Divinity School, an improvement in scholarly standing was made. A Graduate School of Arts and Sciences was founded in 1890, of Applied Science in 1906 and of Business Administration shortly before Mr. Eliot's retirement. The first of these three influenced, to a large degree, university education throughout the United States.

¹ Meanwhile the enrollment at Harvard increased from one thousand to five thousand, and twenty million dollars were added to the endowment fund.

² *Charles W. Eliot, The Man and His Beliefs* by William Allan Neilson.

¹ *Charles William Eliot, The Man and His Beliefs* by William Allan Neilson, p. 15.

These instances are not the only instances of development, however. Mr. Eliot had the coöperation of many colleagues.² The Fellows who constituted the corporation, gave him faithful support as time went on. President Eliot's success was partly due to his ability to choose a brilliant staff of teachers and retain them. Those whom he could convert, he retained. It has been said that Mr. Eliot made Harvard the leading institution of its kind in the country. It would be difficult to find an institution of learning in the United States which has not been affected by his improvements at Harvard. During his forty years as president, this institution was the place where others looked for new ideas and educational methods.¹

His participation in the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was influential in bringing order out of the chaos of college entrance requirements during the period of 1880 to 1890, and enlarging the field of flexibility of instruction in the secondary school. His influence was felt even more when, as chairman of the Committee of Ten of the National Educational Association, he organized the activities of this committee. In like fashion, his advice led the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland to develop the College Entrance Examination Board.

The qualifications for admission to college, led him to consider the curriculum of the secondary schools, and he was the leader in a movement for uniform entrance requirements. He was always on the side of freedom. In the classroom and in the faculty meetings, the professors were given their freedom. He saw no reason why a place on the faculty should limit a man's rights.

² *Ibid*, p. 16.

¹ *Charles William Eliot, The Man and His Beliefs* by William Allan Neilson, p. 17.

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During his tenure as President of Harvard, Mr. Eliot took an active part in social affairs and politics. He was a counselor to the nation at large. His leadership in public opinion probably was as important as that of education. He was regarded as a Democrat, his belief being due partly to his disbelief in protection. He also believed that the Democrats had shown more sympathy to the dejected people of America. He was a strong supporter of Woodrow Wilson in his Mexican and European War policies and a believer in the League of Nations. He was not a radical, however. He voted three times for Cleveland, once for Roosevelt in 1904, Taft in 1908, for Davis in 1924, but could never support Bryan.

In the last year of his Presidency Mr. Eliot undertook the publishing of the *Harvard Classics*.¹ The purpose was to include, as near as possible, all phases and periods of culture as far as those could be represented in documents. The series contains a large amount of the most valuable and permanent literature in the world. The expectations of its educational influence have been more than fulfilled. The carrying out of this project in the face of criticism furnishes us an example of his courage and persistence.

Dr. Eliot was a believer in peace and to that end he, with his wife and granddaughter, undertook a voyage around the world on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His object directly was to secure material for a Report to the Trustees. His quest was successful and he gave an elaborate report in his "Road Toward Peace". He was, until the end of his life, much interested in the relations of one nation with another.

Though not professing to be a literary man, he was a volumi-

¹ Note: This undertaking began in the spring of 1909.

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nous writer. His chief interest during life, was education. His essays deal with that subject from the common school to scientific research. They discuss the aims of education relative to society at large. They discuss college football and the higher education of women.

His attitude toward health was one of enthusiasm. He believed in athletics as a means to an end but he did not believe in colleges as a means to intercollegiate contests. He was a believer in fair play and did not regard football as an ideal sport.

After the World War which magnified the number of defects in the youth of our nation, Charles Eliot again became a leader in a new reform movement. In an article which appeared in *School and Society* we find the following quotation:

"The war has brought to light the fact that American schools and ordinary American life for more than a hundred years have failed to keep alive one sentiment of public duty which was natural to the early American communities on the shores of the Atlantic because they lived under the constant stress of public dangers and apprehensions. When the Pilgrim Fathers first planted their settlement at Plymouth, they took it for granted that every able-bodied man was to bear arms in defense of the community. The Puritan Colony of Massachusetts Bay made the same assumption; and both these pioneering communities relied for many years on a militia to which every able-bodied man belonged as a matter of course. In the adventurous Puritan settlements on the border, the men carried their guns with them into the fields where they worked, and to church on Sundays. Every able-bodied man felt that he might at any time encounter wounds, and death in defense of his home and his village. Military service from him was the country's due."¹

¹ Eliot, Charles W. Defects in American Education Revealed by the War. In *School and Society*, Vol. 9, Jan. 4, 1919, p. 7.

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The War brought to light what few people knew to be true. Occasional inspection of school children and the medical examination of the young men drafted for the National Army revealed defects in the bodies of our youth that were disgraceful to thinking Americans. Realizing that many of these defects were remediable, Charles Eliot advocated the idea of a physical education program for the schools. He thought that Congress should provide for some national aid to the states and municipalities for carrying out a national program of physical training. This would increase the productiveness of national industries and, as Eliot said, "there will not be so many stooping, crooked, slouching, awkward people in the streets and factories as there are now."¹

To summarize these let us quote from an article in which he gives his idea of a program which is needed in both the school and family:

"Enlist the interest of every pupil in every school in his daily tasks in order to get from him hard, persistent, and enjoyed work. Cultivate every hour in every child the power to see and describe accurately. Make the training of the senses a prime object every day. Teach every child to draw, model, sing or play a musical instrument, and read music. Make every pupil active, not passive; alert, not dawdling; led or piloted, not driven; and always learning the value of coöperative discipline. Teach groups of subjects together in their natural relations. For example: arithmetic, algebra, and geometry; or history, biography, geography, and travel. Associate reading, spelling, and English composition, and secure practice in them every day. Teach chemistry, physics, biology, and geology together every week throughout the twelve-year course. Put into all American schools universal

¹ Eliot, Charles W. Defects in American Education Revealed by the War. In *School and Society*, Vol. 9, Jan. 4, 1919, p. 7.

physical training for both boys and girls from six to eighteen years of age. Make sure that every pupil has a fair chance to learn the elements of agriculture, dietetics, cooking, and hygiene, every boy the elements of some manual trade, and every girl the domestic arts. The instruction in hygiene should include the defenses of society against the diseases consequent upon ignorance, poverty and vice. To make room for the new subjects and for increased instruction addressed to the individual pupil, reduce class work and the size of classes, lengthen the school day, and shorten the summer vacation. Keep the atmosphere of every home and school charged with the master sentiments of love and duty. Keep out fear and selfishness.”¹

Dr. Eliot was interested in the field of government. He was a believer in civil service reform, municipal politics and supported the commission plan of city control. His belief in the relations of capital and labor brought him into many debates. He was sympathetic towards the working man but he disapproved many trade union politics. He opposed the “closed shop”, and considered the “scab” a hero.²

With all his opposition to some of the labor policies, union leaders respected him. They admired his courage. He told them the faults of their own platforms.

If one thinks of Mr. Eliot as a man concerned with only the intellectual and material values, he needs only to read his papers on the *Conduct of Life*. Here we find his conviction that permanent satisfactions are found only in the spiritual life. It was his faith in man, faith in spiritual unity, faith in culture and breeding, his Puritan's reserve, his command of English and

¹ Eliot, Charles W. What Is School For? In *Hawaii Educational Review*, May, 1932, p. 244.

² Charles William Eliot, *The Man and His Beliefs* by William Allan Neilson.

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clear judgment that made Mr. Eliot a great citizen, educator and counselor.

As a public speaker, Mr. Eliot was distinguished. His voice was even, rich and always under control. He spoke with precision and would often repeat himself if there seemed any doubt as to clarity. His English was pure and when he felt deeply, he conveyed his emotion to his audience with no intent of seeking an effect.¹

Early in life Mr. Eliot was left with a family of children by the death of his wife, the first Mrs. Eliot. Her death occurred just before he became President of Harvard and for some time he was not only President but father and mother at home.² This period was perhaps the most trying in his life.

In 1877, he married Grace Mellen Hopkinson of Cambridge who lived as his helper until she died in 1924. She had many friends and was well known as a singer. When she became Mrs. Eliot she developed many qualities in her husband that many people had failed to notice. They began the day by singing. They rode bicycles together until President Eliot was well past seventy.³ Even though he was a man given to battle, she knew him to be full of tenderness.

To recall all that Mr. Eliot has done, would be a difficult undertaking. He helped to develop the entire system of elementary and higher education in America; he was most prominent in establishing the beginnings of modern medicine and science; he changed Harvard from a provincial college to an important university; he took part in every controversy from the beginning of

¹ *Charles William Eliot, The Man and His Beliefs* by William Allan Neilson, p. 26.

² *Lonely Americans* by Rollo Walter Brown.

³ *Ibid.*

negro slavery to the fight for the World Court in 1925. Between eighty and ninety, when most men are gone and forgotten, he was in the struggle for greater democracy in America. During the last ten years of life he published one hundred and ninety-two articles on important questions and in this way his influence was felt throughout the world.¹

His mind encompassed many fields. In 1909 we find that he published a work of a religious nature, "The Religion of a Future", and another in 1914 called "The Twentieth Century Christianity". Here again we find him emphasizing freedom and sense training.

Eliot's achievements have no recent parallel. There is no teacher, principal, superintendent, professor or college president who has not been influenced by him. Nearly every textbook has been revised by standards set up by him. There probably is no other American who has achieved what Eliot did. He ranks, when measured by benefits, with Lincoln and Emerson. These men are products of the democracy which they developed.

Mr. Eliot abandoned research too early in life to reach distinction. He was a competent chemist and in this field, wrote a good textbook. He was a great reader and learned much from men. His ability to employ experts, has seldom been equaled. His judgment of men was keen. He was cautious up to a certain point, and like Lincoln, when his mind was made up, became bold.

It is doubtful whether any other man was ever consulted on so many different matters: the education of children; the value of chemistry, poetry, education; the best place to invest money; internal affairs of China or Japan; the training of ministers of the gospel; freedom of speech; the education of the negro; archi-

¹ *Lonely Americans* by Rollo Walter Brown.

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ture; the study of music for young women. With these and dozens of other problems, much of his time was spent.¹

In 1909 President Taft offered him the position of Ambassador to England, a position which was one of the most coveted within the power of the president to grant, but he refused, choosing to serve his country at home. This same position was offered him again in 1913 by President Wilson but he again refused the honor.

In 1914 he was honored by being elected president of the Association for the Advancement of Science. He always maintained that the traditional systems had dealt too exclusively with language and literature, giving little attention to studies of scientific nature. The American Academy of Arts and Letters honored him in 1916, awarding him a gold medal for his work in the field of education.

Mr. Eliot reached the latter eighties in good health. He was still a fighter, but no longer aroused bitter antagonism. A few people of course remained bitter toward him. What man can accomplish things and make no enemies? A few contended that he was a disintegrating force in American higher education.

In his eighty-ninth year he changed his belief that a layman should not represent the church publicly. He said he was wrong and made declaration to that fact.

At all the meetings of the Divinity School faculty, he served ice cream and sherry. It was better as a health measure and this also was his answer when questioned about national prohibition.

In this period of his life, he ceased thinking of the future and became reminiscent. He welcomed undergraduates to his home and occasionally accepted their invitations to sit with them at informal gatherings.

¹ *Lonely Americans* by Rollo Walter Brown.

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Expressions of a more intimate affection on the part of younger men became more numerous until they culminated in a national celebration of his ninetieth birthday. It is doubtful whether any person in any station of life ever received so many expressions of regard.

In a letter from the University of California to Dr. Eliot we find the following:

“ . . . In public affairs you have been a man of influence and authority. You have never sought popularity; great influence has come to you as men have recognized increasingly not only your honesty of purpose but your soundness of judgment. Many have differed from you, but with the lapse of time your countrymen have come to regard you with ever increasing respect and affection. Your long life has been a worthy embodiment of your own ideals of freedom, of responsibility, of high excellence in performance, and of public service; it will always be recognized as such till the stock of the Puritans die. From the western shore of our country we send you this tribute of admiration.”

Mr. Eliot had come into his own. Every public appearance was an ovation, but his contemporaries were gone. His beautiful wife had passed away and with few exceptions, all the people around him were much younger than he. He sat in his study upstairs and discussed science, agriculture, religion and international good-will¹ with his friends. He could not move about as vigorously as he once did and in a way he was alone.

President Emeritus Eliot continued to live in Cambridge surrounded by a host of friends and grandchildren. In the summer of 1926, he returned to Mt. Desert, where, at Northeast Harbor, he died on August twenty-second.²

¹ *Lonely Americans* by Rollo Walter Brown.

² *Charles William Eliot, The Man and His Beliefs* by William Allan Neilson, p. 27.

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In considering educational leaders in America it is probable that most individuals immediately think of certain men who have contributed to the development of our public school system. This is not surprising when the popular faith in the efficacy of the schools, as well as the devotion of the people to them, is borne in mind. This attitude largely accounts for the accelerated growth of the institution in recent decades. Education of the masses has come to be regarded as the *sine qua non* of a democracy. At the same time, it is looked upon as the chief means of furnishing that equality of opportunity to which the equality of the late eighteenth century finally narrowed itself.

There is another reason, too, for the average American to identify educational leadership with the public schools. In spite of the battle which preceded their final acceptance they have existed on a rather wide scale for a century or more. Higher education, however, in so far as the masses were concerned, was restricted to a very limited circle in which a life of culture or preparation for the ministry were the more common motivating forces. It has only been during the last half century that the high schools have assumed a commanding place in American life while college training has become attainable on a wide scale in an even more recent period. Nevertheless, leaders in the domain of higher education have appeared and among these William Rainey Harper occupies a place of importance. His work in several directions gives him a high rank without the necessity of a eulogy.

His interest as a scholar centered around the study and teaching of the Hebrew language and literature, and in his organization of the University of Chicago. It is on these phases of his life, therefore, that this biography will center.

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Harper was born in the little town of New Concord, Ohio, on July 26, 1856, of Scotch Irish parentage. His precocity was evidenced by his admission to the freshman class at Muskingum College at the age of ten. In this connection the claim is made by one closely associated with him in later years that he was one of the youngest students to be permitted to pursue a college course.¹ During his attendance his unusually active mind prompted him to take extra courses. At the age of fourteen he graduated with honors. Apparently, his capacity for continuous intellectual effort began rather early. At a later time he stated that he worked seventeen hours a day. After working as a clerk in his father's store he entered Yale as a graduate student at the age of seventeen where his main interest was in philology. Before he was nineteen he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

During the next few years he made several changes after his marriage to the daughter of the president of Muskingum College. Thus, in 1875, he became the principal of a Masonic College at Macon, Tennessee, only to become, in the following year, a tutor in the preparatory department of Denison University. When this department was shortly afterwards made the Granville Academy, Harper was made principal.

But Harper's energies were not wholly absorbed in intellectual pursuits. Having a love for music he was a member of a band in which he played a cornet. His life-long concern in religion also appeared at this period of his life. From his attendance at student prayer meetings his interest culminated in his joining the Baptist church, although his father's family had been Presbyterian. Ordinarily a particular Protestant church affiliation might have little significance in the life of an individual, but it is interesting to speculate on what might have happened in Harper's subsequent career had not this rather fortuitous step been taken.

¹Goodspeed, T. W. *A History of the University of Chicago*, p. 98.

The significance of his church affiliation will become more apparent when John D. Rockefeller's part in the founding of the University of Chicago is considered. At a later time when Harper's duties were much more onerous he still found time to take a leading part in church activities. He held various church offices and, for a while, was the Sunday School Superintendent at Morgan Park, Chicago.

Mention has already been made of Harper's intense interest in the study and teaching of the Hebrew language. This interest was foreshadowed when he gave the Hebrew oration upon his graduation from Muskingum. In his work at Denison it continued with the result that President Andrews of the latter school recommended him for the vacant chair of Hebrew at the Morgan Park Theological Seminary when he was but twenty-two years old. His youthful appearance, together with the fact of many of the students being older than he, restricted his appointment to that of an instructor. Even that concession was made with serious misgivings and at a salary of one thousand dollars. But his merit secured for him a full professorship the following year at which time he was also given the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He remained at Morgan Park for seven years, leaving it in 1886. In such high esteem was he held, however, that upon his departure he was appointed lecturer with the Hebrew Department under his control for three years. January of the next two years he spent there in residence with the work of the institution virtually in his hands.

In connection with his teaching of and enthusiasm for Hebrew, Harper began an enterprise in 1881 which was destined to assume increasing importance, both in his own career and in university organization at a later date. He was given permission to use the Seminary buildings for a summer school for the study of Hebrew. This was followed by a second one at Worcester, Massachusetts and still another one for New Englanders at New

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Haven, Connecticut, at the very door-yard of Yale University. A third one was established in Philadelphia.

His enthusiasm for Hebrew at that time seems to have been contagious and prompted this statement from one of his associates:

“No man ever lived who could inspire his class with the enthusiasm he could awaken over the study of Hebrew, could lead his students so far in that language in a six weeks’ course, or could impart such broad and sane views of the Biblical literature.”

Summer school attendance, however, reached a group too circumscribed to satisfy his enthusiasm over Hebrew or to sufficiently consume his energy. Having learned of a rabbi’s intention to teach Hebrew by correspondence, he immediately seized upon the plan. With the aid of some of his more capable students as well as other persons he prepared a series of study slips to be used in correspondence courses. Ministers throughout the country were importuned to renew their study of the Old Testament and circulars were given a broad distribution. Here again appeared and was developed a plan which was destined to become one of the essential features of the university over which Dr. Harper, within less than a decade later, was to preside.

In order to spread the study of Hebrew more effectively a periodical seemed the best means with the result that “The Hebrew Student” was published for more popular usage. A technical Hebraica was also soon forthcoming. But the plan was not yet complete. To create a wider market for these publications it was necessary that Hebrew and Bible chairs be established in as many colleges as possible. His plans can be thus seen to dove-tail and call for further expansion. The satisfactory outcome of his efforts convinced him of the usefulness of a press in connection with educational work and the germ of the later University Press can be found in embryo in these ventures in the early eighties.

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Harper was not wholly engrossed in the activities just narrated. In 1883 he entered the School of Languages at Chautauqua, New York, where he soon came to be regarded as an almost indispensable personage. Here was another outlet for the teaching of Hebrew. He soon became principal of the summer schools and by 1888 all departments of the summer schools were under his direction. He was also principal of the College of Liberal Arts. But administrative duties could not keep him wholly away from teaching. Accordingly, in 1889, in the School of Theology, he gave a course of lectures on the Hebrew prophets. When he later became president of the University of Chicago he still retained an active interest in Chautauqua and often spent the week end there. In fact, the reorganization of the schools in 1896 was under his supervision and he intermittently appeared on the list of lecturers in subsequent years.

In the meantime the name of Harper as an outstanding scholar began to attract the attention of the authorities at Yale. Advances were made to him in 1885 and 1886, much to the discomfiture of those connected with Morgan Park Seminary. Dr. Northrup, the president at that time, considered him a scholar, leader, organizer, and administrator. According to him, Dr. Harper was teaching a thousand men by correspondence, had organized the Hebrew departments of all the seminaries of the country and was at the same time conducting six summer schools. Little wonder that the Seminary was loath to lose him or that they made many inducements in an effort to retain him! Even John D. Rockefeller became interested and was willing, for the sake of the denominational interests, to make financial advances in his salary. But neither this nor the proffer of the presidency of the then existing University was sufficient to hold him and he reluctantly resigned.

It should be said in this connection that it was during these negotiations that Dr. Harper became acquainted with John D. Rockefeller. The latter was very desirous of Harper's remain-

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ing at the Seminary, but in a letter after his interview with him expressed his fear that he could not be retained.

The call to Yale was accepted and there he became professor of Semitic languages in 1886 as well as instructor in the Divinity School. His range of interest in the Semitic languages can be measured by the field he covered. Thus, he was teaching Hebrew, Assyrian, Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac. He also took with him, bag and baggage, his diversified interests such as his summer schools, correspondence school, printing office, and journals.

While thus engaged, he discovered another latent ability. From being a linguist, he now became an interpreter. To his surprise he ascertained that he had ability as a public speaker. As a result he soon came to be in great demand as a lecturer on the Bible. As such he spoke not only in a popular vein to public audiences but also before university groups, seminaries and churches.

His success at Yale was immediate as indicated by the eagerness of theological students to enter his courses. This was also further shown by the establishment in 1889 of the Woolsey professorship in the undergraduate department. The purpose of this was the teaching of the Bible and its literature. He was thus, within a three-year period giving instruction in the College, the Graduate Department, and the Divinity School. This fact tends to show his enthusiasm and spontaneity as a teacher, qualities which carried over to many of his students.

In the *Biblical World* of March, 1906, his teaching is thus appraised:

"His love for learning was not the love of the recluse. He learned in order to teach others; . . . Not only the subject-matter interested him, but the method of imparting it. Pedagogics were natural to him. How to get the most out of a teacher and out of an hour were vital problems to him. . . . His executive powers were quite equal to his ambitions. . . ." Again in the same article other qualities were set forth:

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"He threw himself with a stirring enthusiasm into his work, making himself almost at a bound the center of a group of earnest students . . . infusing within a few days an enthusiasm for the subject. All his methods and his ambitions were a revelation and his leadership was . . . inspiring."

Possessing such qualities it is little wonder that he was the one on whom attention was focused when plans were under way for the formation of the University of Chicago. It is equally clear why the Yale authorities were determined to retain him at any cost. Consequently, long drawn-out negotiations began with the result decidedly in doubt for months. To the proponents of the new university the acceptance of the presidency seemed not only logical but indispensable. This was clearly indicated by Mr. Rockefeller who, in a letter to Harper in 1890, stated:

"I do not forget that the effort to establish the University grew out of your suggestion to me at Vassar, and I regard you as the father of the institution. . . ."

In fact, as early as 1886 he had been told to hold himself in readiness to accept the presidency of the new university.

Realizing his value the president of Yale made such inducements to hold him that his rejection of their terms seemed very difficult. He was doing the work that he liked, but the insistence of his friends and the wishes of Mr. Rockefeller finally prevailed. Indeed, it was only when the whole success of the new university project and denominational advantages seemed to rest upon his acceptance that he finally decided to sever his relations with Yale.

In reaching his conclusion to terminate his connections with Yale, some obstacles had to be overcome in addition to the joy he found in his work at New Haven. One of these was to secure an honorable release from Yale. In an effort to retain him the president, as already stated, had done much to make Harper's work at Yale pleasant. He had only recently secured the endowment for the chair of biblical literature. President Dwight said

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that he had been prompted in securing this fund from the fact that Harper was to benefit from it and that he would not for a moment have secured it had he anticipated his severance of relations with Yale. He therefore held that Harper could not honorably leave. This attitude on the part of his friends made his course all the more difficult.

But another difficulty arose during the negotiations which troubled his sensitive nature. This was the question of his orthodoxy which was first raised in 1888. The occasion for this attack was a series of Bible lectures at Vassar. While President Taylor commended them for their fairness, reverence, and assertion of the supernatural, he was much disturbed and seemed unwilling to proceed further until Mr. Rockefeller was apprised both of the attack and of his religious views. The question was reopened by Harper in 1890 at which time he asserted that some of the leading men of the Baptist denomination differed with him in his interpretation of the Bible. However, these differences were brushed aside by the Chicago sponsors and Rockefeller himself was unwilling to reopen the case. Both Northrup and Goodspeed considered him as a mediator between the Higher Criticism and Orthodoxy and as such he could render a valuable service. They considered his criticism as being constructive. Mr. Rockefeller had neither the time nor the inclination to reopen the matter.

In deciding to accept the presidency, Dr. Harper was not unaware of the vision held by the denominational sponsors. It was expected by them that the new university should rank with Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and Michigan, both in grade and equipment. He was somewhat perturbed, however, because of lack of funds. He felt that it was unfortunate that time must elapse for a gradual growth when the institution might as well be born full-fledged.

At the same time he was disturbed as to the possibility of his accepting the presidency without giving up his chosen work in

the field of instruction and research in the Old Testament. This difficulty was to be overcome by the following plan: The theological seminary was to be removed to the university campus. The Morgan Park Seminary buildings were to be used for a university academy. Equivalent or better buildings for the seminary were to be erected. Instruction in Hebrew and Old Testament criticism were to be transferred to the university with Dr. Harper as the head professor with a salary as such and finally Mr. Rockefeller was to give one million dollars as a new and unconditional gift. Upon the acceptance of these terms Dr. Harper was to agree to accept the presidency.

Accordingly, he accepted the new position in 1891 at a salary of six thousand dollars as president and four thousand as head of the Semitic Department.

Even before he had accepted the presidency of the proposed new university, Dr. Harper had been formulating a general plan for it. In this respect it differed from practically all other schools of higher learning. It was methodically planned from the beginning and did not "just grow." With a school such as he envisaged it was necessary that such should be the case. It was his hope that it would, in a short time, assume for the Central West a place of leadership. At the same time tradition was to be either thrown aside or at least greatly modified. It could thus be truly said of it:

"This plan was his own creation . . . which no other man would have dared to undertake to set in motion and administer. . . ."

It might be added that his plan was set forth in six bulletins.

His hopes and aspirations were set forth still further in his third quarterly of June, 1893, when he said that the foundations had been at least in part laid and that until the founding of Johns Hopkins only one type of college existed in America. Further-

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more, he said that no institution doing real university work existed. Finally, he added:

"The field for experimental work is as vast as any that may present itself in other departments of activity. If only those who experiment will be quick to discard that which shows itself to be wrong, the cause of education has nothing to fear from experiment."

This pragmatic view, it can be said was, to a considerable degree, the adopted policy in the subsequent development of the school. We thus see in the above quotation a willingness to break the bonds of tradition and establish as educational experience a distinctly new type of college.

But his aspirations were shown along another line in a letter to Mr. Rockefeller in January, 1887. At that time he wrote that the proposed university, if properly planned and conducted would have more students than Yale or Harvard had at that time. These two institutions had the then remarkable enrollments of 1245 and 1688 respectively. Harper's perspicacity was shown a few years later when, in the fourth year of the University, its enrollment was 1815 a number 127 larger than the enrollment of Harvard. In ten years he could have written that his school had surpassed Harvard three-fold and Yale four-fold. In fact, from the beginning the university threatened to be overwhelmed but for the high standards set and the entrance examinations for students. It needs scarcely be added that the rapid growth was a tribute, not only to his careful planning, and to the general confidence of students in the man himself but to the felt need for the particular type of university which he had planned. Great credit is therefore due Dr. Harper for his pioneering in this new field of educational activity.

But let us return to the plans as set forth in the six bulletins. With meticulous care these bulletins beginning with that of 1890 give his views as to the organization of the school. At the start

it should be said that the original college, as planned, had developed into a university. The institution was to be organized under three divisions, the university proper, the university extension, and the university publication work. The university proper was to include the academies, colleges, and affiliated colleges and schools. The colleges were to include those of Liberal Arts, Science, Literature, and Practical Arts. The schools were to be the Graduate School, the Divinity School, the Law School, the Medical School, the School of Engineering, of Pedagogy, of Fine Arts, and of Music. A great amount of courage was, at that time, required to launch such a comprehensive program.

The second division of the university organization was to be the Extension Division. This was designed to reach a number of groups of people who could not become resident students. Its work fell under five heads, the first of which was regular lecture courses in and about Chicago. Another important phase was evening courses on both college and university levels to be given in Chicago for those men and women whose work precluded regular attendance on the campus. But Dr. Harper was not content to limit the usefulness of the new school to the confines of the "Windy City." Correspondence courses were to be planned for students anywhere who could not reside in Chicago. Naturally with his intense interest in the Hebrew literature the new president made provision for special courses for a scientific study of the Bible. Lectures were to be given by university instructors at the university in that field.

One other feature of his plans for the Extension Department was interesting. This was a library extension service by which books were to be sent out to students not living at the University. Obviously this was a corollary of the extension work since the correspondence courses could not be a success unless the non-resident students could have available some of the material of the university library.

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From the beginning Dr. Harper had been firmly of the opinion that the publication department should play an important part in an educational program. His earlier experiences in his correspondence courses in Hebrew had confirmed him in this view. He therefore planned a rather extensive program along this line. This department was to do the printing and publishing of all official documents. In addition it was to print and publish works and reviews of a scientific character prepared by University instructors as well as any books written by them. He also provided an exchange for books or other publications similar to those published by the University.

This phase of work of the university seemed to Dr. Harper to be of immense potentiality. He hoped through it to carry the university far and wide. Believing firmly in the power of the printed page, he was not content with giving this activity an incidental place in his scheme of things. It was to be one of the five great divisions of the University.

In connection with the latter Dr. Harper again showed a comprehensive knowledge of the needs of the University. Thus, in addition to the main library, each department of the school was to be provided a special library and reading room. These libraries were to contain standard works and periodicals with provision for the loaning of books.

In his mind, this phase of the work assumed such importance that it was soon extended and was, indeed, made a fourth division, namely that of The University Libraries, Laboratories, and Museums.

Another real innovation was his division of University Affiliations, a division which was not included in his original plan. According to the author of the History of the University of Chicago, the University was not intended as a rival of the weaker or smaller schools of the middle west. University Affiliations was, on the other hand, to assist them to raise their standards and to

strengthen and upbuild them. This division although subsequently abandoned, was not abandoned because it lacked value. In fact in the work of affiliation that spirit of standardization and improvement of the work of high schools can be discerned which was to be more extensively done in the regional associations of secondary schools and colleges.

As already indicated the University was to consist of five divisions, the University Proper, the University Extension, the University Press, the University Libraries, Laboratories, and Museums, and the University Affiliations. Of these some were more or less traditional but three were Dr. Harper's contribution. The Press, Libraries, and Affiliations marked a new departure. By these means the influence of the University was to be carried far beyond the confines of the University campus. While it is quite possible that these ideas may have been advanced by others or even put into force in a small way elsewhere, it remained for Harper to see their value and accept them as major activities in the organization of a great university.

Contrary to his earlier views the institution was to be coeducational. He thought that this might be practicable in a new institution which was "untrammelled by traditions, and with the flexibility which it is hoped will characterize the University of Chicago." Apparently he had some misgivings for he said:

"At all events the matter has been decided. The charter admits persons of both sexes on equal terms. The desire of the founders and the requirements of the charter will be carried out in the letter and in the spirit."

To show further Dr. Harper's contribution to higher educational administration it is desirable to note some of the features of the internal organization. The university was to have four general executive officers: a President, an Examiner, a Recorder, and a Registrar.

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In the undergraduate department the four traditional classes were to be swept aside. Instead, there were to be two colleges, the Academic covering the first two years and the University covering the last two. These names were later changed to "Junior" and "Senior". There would thus be eight colleges. Over each of these as well as over the Graduate and Professional Schools there was to be a Dean and over all a principal Dean.

A "Senate" was formed composed of the President, Recorder, all Heads of Departments and the University Librarian. The body was to consider matters of an educational nature while a Council consisting of the President, Examiner, Recorder, Registrar and all Deans and Directors was to be the final authority on all administrative matters, subject to the approval of the trustees.

In several other directions Dr. Harper's plans call for attention. One of the most important and one which he termed an educational experiment was the division of the school year into four quarters of twelve weeks each with a week of vacation intervening. In addition each quarter was to be divided into two periods of six weeks. Great flexibility would be allowed the student as to which quarter he used for his regular vacation. The instructors were to be on duty three quarters each year. The numerous advantages of the plan he set forth in detail. As a safeguard against over zeal, no student could enroll four consecutive sessions without a physician's certificate. In this elaborately stated plan a type of organization was being advanced which after the lapse of a quarter of a century came to be adopted in several of the larger universities of the country. Furthermore, students should not be graduated by a rigid calendar schedule he thought, but rather at the end of the quarter during which they had completed their work.

President Harper classified the courses into majors and minors. He opposed one, two, or three hour courses as conducive to superficial work on the part of the student. The term major meant

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that for a period of from six to twelve weeks some one subject should be given special attention and that during another quarter some other subject will take its place. A major was to be given from eight to ten hours' classroom or lecture work each week. In the higher work the plan was to be less rigid. Of this classification of course Dr. Harper wrote:

"The plan may be a radical one. It is one, however, which has been tested in a hundred ways, in every case standing the test."

The system of majors and minors was later modified so as to permit a student to take three courses as the normal number. Withal, President Harper's plan was for a university with research as the central point of interest.

One other contribution made at least in part by Harper was the idea of the junior college. In an address before the National Education Association in 1900 he advocated or rather forecast the coming of such an institution. He asserted that twenty-five percent of the smaller colleges would survive but that another twenty-five percent would yield to the inevitable and take a lower place. But in another sense they would take a higher place in that they would do their work better. Still another group, he maintained, would come to be known as junior colleges in which the work of the freshman and sophomore years would be covered. With these, the work of the preparatory department or academy might be associated. "This period of six years is, I am inclined to think, a period which stands by itself as between the period of elementary education and that of the university." Continuing, he thought the two lower years of the college was in reality a continuation in both subject matter and method of the academy or high school work. The university method should not be employed until the end of the second year. Under the existing plan the student finds himself adrift with his preparatory work unfinished and with college instructors inferior to those he had

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in the academy. This results in a great loss of time and energy. He was, finally, convinced that a majority of the present colleges would be content to limit their work to the six years' work of the preparatory schools and to two of the college. At least two hundred colleges in the United States, he estimated, should make the change.

Here indeed is presented a field of educational statesmanship which is worthy of indoctrination in the minds of many college authorities of today. He was obviously aware of the miserable "teaching" to which lower classmen in many schools were subjected. He saw, too, that good instruction, rather than an attempt at research was the prime requisite of the two lower years of the college. While his junior college took within its scope the academic or preparatory period, it should be borne in mind that the high school was just at that time at the threshold of a period of phenomenal expansion and that a knowledge of its future might have modified Dr. Harper's views to some extent.

In this discussion, the reader might at times be led to assume that this biography is a presentation of some of the more important facts in the development of the University of Chicago. Such, however, is not the case. The great leadership of Dr. Harper in the domain of education and his great contributions in that field came to light most forcibly in his connection with that institution. It can be said that his advocacy of such ideas as a Press, the summer school, the four-quarter plan, the classification of subjects, extension and correspondence courses and his vision as to the transitional period between the age for instruction and that for research are noteworthy. Because of these, if for no other, the name of William Rainey Harper in his short life of fifty years, gives him a high place in education.

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